

ENQUIRY
INTO THE
REASONS
OF THE
Conduct of *Great-Britain*,
With Relation to the *K*
Present State of Affairs
IN
EUROPE

The Third Edition.



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A N
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O T H E
R E A S O N S
O F T H E

Conduct of *Great-Britain, &c.*



THE whole Face of Affairs in *Europe* is, within the Space of the last Year, so much altered ; that it is almost impossible for the most unconcerned Spectator to prevent his Thoughts from running out into Questions and Suppositions about it. Curiosity itself, the lowest Principle of all our Enquiries, will force its Way into such a Scene: And

will expect, or invent, some Account of so surprizing a *Change* ; from a Calm hardly paralleled by any past *Prospect*, to a sudden Gathering of Clouds ; which, if not soon dissipated, must burst, and discharge themselves some where or other.

But when Self-Interest is joined to this natural Curiosity ; and it becomes a *personal* and *national* Concern, to know the main Causes and Springs of such Events, as All are interested in ; there seems then to be a Right, strictly so called, to demand and receive all the Satisfaction the Nature of such Affairs can permit to be given. In a free Nation especially, where no Resolutions can be effectual without the Consent and Support of the Community, every Man, who can think at all, will think it an injurious Treatment, if, at a proper Time, and in a proper Manner, some Light be not held forth to him ; and some satisfactory Solution given of such Appearances, as must otherwise very much perplex and disturb him. And one Thing *Governors* themselves are sure to find, That unless they shew such a Regard to Those who justly think they have a Claim to it, this Evil will come to pass ; that Mankind (always disposed enough towards Dissatisfaction, either through a Sort of natural Ill-will to those above Them, or through a Weariness under the Continuance of the same *Administration*, or through an affected *Popularity*, or real *Patriotism* not sufficiently instructed) will take that Side of the Prospect to dwell upon, which will afford them much Matter for Satyr at Home ; and lay all the Load upon the Conduct of Those, in whose Time of Power such a *Crisis* of Political Affairs appears in the World.

All this was never more true, than in this Nation, and at this Time. Every *Briton* who, either by his Treasure or his Blood, by his Vote or his Interest, by his Person or his Representative, has in Time past bor'n any Part in procuring the Common Peace, and establishing the several Interests, of *Europe* : Every such Member of the *British* Nation, who, by this Time flattered himself with Hopes of enjoying the Result of all our Toil, and Taxes, and Blood, in an universal Peace, and an extended undisturbed Commerce, has a Right to ask,----How comes this Face of Things to be again over-clouded ?---All *Europe* once more in Agitation---Three Fleets from *Britain* fitted out at a great Expence, and with the utmost Expedition sent to several Parts of the World :---And, what is most unaccountable, the *Emperor* and *Spain*, Powers that

that could hardly be kept within the Bounds of Common Decency, towards one another, by all the Address of two powerful Mediators in a *publick* Treaty, abandoning that *Mediation*; and in the Middle of it, privately running into one another's Arms, and uniting, in Designs destructive to the *Commerce* and *Rights* of other Nations, with all the Marks of Cordial Affection and a Resolute Friendship.

Is not This, the *King of Spain*---of that Country, which has always felt the Want of the Friendship of *Britain*, more than of that of all other Nations besides; to such a Degree, that it has passed into a *Proverb* throughout the Kingdom, *Paz con Inglaterra, con todos otros la Guerra*: *Peace with England, and War with all the World besides*? ---of that Country, which reaps more Advantage from the Trade with *England*, than from That of all its other Neighbours put together? ---- And, Is not this the same King, whose Engagements to the *Interests* and *Possessions* of *Britain* in his Country, are as solemn and strong, as the most exprefs Treaties can make them? ---The same, who just before the opening the Congress at *Cambray*, owned and ratified them all, by acceding in Form to the *Quadruple Alliance*; and accepting, by That, the Mediation of *Britain* and *France*.

And above all, if we turn our Eyes to the *Emperor*; Is not This the *Prince*, whom we once bore upon our Shoulders, out of the Reach of all his Enemies, and supported by our Strength in the Time of his own greatest Weakness? ---- The *Prince*, whom our Zeal, and our Fleets, and our Treasure, laboured to fix upon the Throne of *Spain*, at a Time when Difficulties and Dangers surrounded the whole Imperial House at *Vienna*? --- And now, vested, as we always wished Him to be, with the High and August Dignity He enjoys; Is not this the *Emperor*, who may justly be said to owe the Preservation even of all his Hereditary Countries, and of his Imperial Crown itself, (if we may have Liberty to say so,) to that hazardous and unequalled March of the Confederate Army into *Germany*, and to the happy Consequences of it? To that *Victory*, in which the *British*, *Dutch*, *Hanoverian*, *Prussian*, and *Hessian* Troops bore so great a Part; and, in a particular

lar Manner, to that *British* General, who projected and conducted the *Whole*? — And the same *Emperor*, who, as He was throughout the last War the chief Object of the Love and good Wishes of this Nation, so, at the End of it, was established in the Possession of *Flanders*; and owes *Ostend* itself to those victorious Arms, which had before supported his Person, and preserved the *Empire* for him? And all this long Scene of Service and Toil, entered into and prosecuted by us, We must own, against the repeated Remonstrances of *many*, that we were hastening apace to make Him a Power too great and too formidable; and that we should find in *Him* at last, the Enemy we then dreaded only in *another*?

It is natural to every *Briton* to look back, and to ask these and the like Questions. And the next Thought which succeeds, is almost as natural; That it is hardly to be supposed, that these Powers should take such Steps without something to justify them. We can hardly imagine it possible, That, without some real and high Provocation, the *Emperor* could throw any the least Indignity upon the *Crown* of *Great-Britain*; or Act any injurious or even hard Part towards a Nation which had sacrificed so much Treasure and so much Blood to his Service. And therefore, we are apt enough to conclude, (and have Reason to do so, till we find it otherwise) That some great Mismanagement on the Part of *Britain*; some unjustifiable Partiality towards Others; some Breach of Faith; some Outrage or other in Politicks, has been committed against his *Imperial Majesty*: Or, that some unpardonable Behaviour on our Part, with Regard to his just Interests, must have been the Occasion of a Conduct that so far exceeds the Common Maxims of *Princes* and *States* towards one another.

And indeed, I shall be very free to own, If this be the Case; if either solemn *Treaties*, or any Engagements, with the *Court* of *Vienna*, have been broke through; if either Affronts, or even Neglects inconsistent with the Duty of a faithful Ally, have been Part of the Conduct of the *present Court* of *Great-Britain* towards his *Imperial Majesty*; former Appearances ought not to be spoken of; all past Obligations ought to be as nothing in the present

sent Account; the *Emperor* has a Right to guard and strengthen himself by Treaties *contrary* to his former Treaties, and to act the Part He judges best for his own Honour and Security: And we of this Nation have no Right to tax *Him*, either with Ingratitude unprovoked, or with Breach of Faith without the Appearance of a Justification; but ought to turn all our Zeal against Those, whose Counsels, and whose Behaviour, upon this Supposition, have made such a Conduct on his Part, wise, just, and necessary. And the same must be acknowledged with Regard to *Spain* also; if any such *Excuse* can justly be alledged, on that Side.

We will now, therefore, enquire What has been the Behaviour of the *King* and *Nation* of *Great-Britain*, since his present *Majesty* came to the Throne, towards the *Emperor* particularly; and, as we pass, towards *Spain* also. And I will put the Account of this into two *Periods*. The *first* shall be, from his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, to the Opening the *Congress* at *Cambrai*: The *Second*, from the Opening of that *Congress* to the Signing of the *Treaty* of *Peace* at *Vienna* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*.

At the Time when his *Majesty* came to the Throne of *Great-Britain*, several Points of great Importance remain'd to be adjust'd, before the *Peace* of *Europe* could be esteem'd as a Thing fix'd upon any lasting and solid Foundation; in particular, some Things very uneasy to the *Emperor*, and others very much desired by *Spain*. In consideration of this, his Majesty, after other previous Treaties and Conventions, enter'd directly upon these necessary Points, which were fix'd in the *Treaty* of *London*, July 22, 1718. Entirely to the *Emperor's* Satisfaction: Who was himself a *Party* in that *Treaty*, and confirm'd with his own Hand what his *Ministers* had before sign'd in his Name. His *Italian* Dominions, always dear to him, He justly thought not very secure, without the Possession of *Sicily*; upon which the Preservation of *Naples* very much depends. This great and important Point, the *King* of *Great-Britain* fix'd, as a main Article of this *Treaty*: And engaged, in Concert with *France*, that, *Sardinia* being deliver'd up to the *Emperor* by *Spain*, the *King* of *Sicily* should

should accept of that Island in lieu of *Sicily*, which He should yield to the *Emperor*.

On the Part of *Spain*, a Favourite Point was likewise settled. Don *Carlos*, Son to the present *Queen*, was establish'd in the Succession of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*: And this consented to, by the *Emperor*, who alone was capable of disturbing it; and effectually guaranteed by the *Powers* of *Britain* and *France*. I will at present name no other Particulars, but these two principal ones. Some other Points, Circumstances, and Incidents, in order to perfect the Peace between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, remain'd to be settled in a Congress, under the Mediation of *Britain* and *France*: And this *Mediation* made a Part and an express Article of this *Treaty* of *London*, to which the *Emperor* long ago, and *Spain* afterwards, set their Hands, and gave their solemn Consent. The former of the two Articles now mentioned, viz. That relating to *Sicily*, did not long subsist in Words only; but was soon actually put in Execution; and the *Emperor* put in Possession of that Kingdom.

Hitherto, Nothing but *Friendship* appears: And perhaps, *Friendship* to Excess. What the *Emperor* exceedingly desired, is granted to Him: And nothing granted to *Others*, but what the *Emperor* himself had previously consented to, as a reasonable and fitting *Equivalent*. Neither had the King of *Spain* any Reason to complain, when the Succession of Don *Carlos* in *Italy* was put in so sure a Way of taking place at the Time appointed. So far indeed, was He from it; That, before the Opening of the Congress, He himself acceded to the *Treaty* of *London*, and consented to all the Allotments made in it.

The Congress was at length open'd at *Cambray*. Jan. 26. N. S. 1723-4. in order to settle all remaining Uncertainties, under the Care of the two mediating Powers, *Britain* and *France*. This will be a *Second Period*; from this Opening at *Cambray*, to the Opening of another Scene at *Vienna*. And through the whole Management of this Congress, the Part the *Mediators* acted, was so impartial, so equitable, so agreeable to the *Treaty* of *London*, which was the Basis of this Congress; that the most solemn Appeal may be made to Both the contending Powers, Whether

ther any one Step was taken, which could give any the least just Ground of Complaint. No Appeal is, indeed, necessary. The *Imperial Court* would loudly have complain'd of any Conduct; if there had been any towards that Court which could have deserv'd it. But there never was any Complaint of that Sort from thence: Nor indeed could there have been any made, without discovering at the same Time that there was nothing to complain of, but the too great Equity and Justice observ'd by the *Mediators* between the two contending Powers; and their resolute Adherence to all *Treaties*; and particularly to that of *London*, to which this Court itself had consented. Nor did *Spain* make the least Complaint against the Behaviour of the *mediating Powers*, through the whole Progress of the Mediation; but what arose from the constant Justice of the Mediators, in keeping within the Bounds of their Duty and Honour, and their not giving into any new and exorbitant Demands of that Court.

Thus, therefore, stands the Case. Whilst a *Mediation* was happily going on, under the Sanction of a solemn Treaty, appointing this *Mediation*; and this *Appointment* sign'd, and consented to, by these contending Crowns; without any apparent Dissatisfaction, or even the least Pretence for it, a *private Treaty* is enter'd into, carried on, and finish'd at *Vienna*; in plain Contradiction to that *Article* relating to the *Mediation*, by which They had solemnly oblig'd themselves to settle the Points in Difference, under the Eye and Influence of *Great-Britain* and *France*: And the whole conducted with the highest Disrespect to the mediating Powers, and without the least seeming Desire of keeping the common Measures of Decency with them. Considering, therefore, only the Manner and Circumstances attending this Transaction between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, at *Vienna*; as it was a Violation of an *express Article* of a former Treaty sign'd by Themselves, and an high and unprovoked Indignity offered to the *Mediators*; these were alone enough to justify the *Mediators*, in any publick Act of due Resentment of such Usage.

But so far were they from shewing any such Resentment; so far from making this open Affront, the Occasion of an open Rupture; that, when the *Signing of this*

Treaty was, first, in Form, notified to the two Courts of *Britain* and *France*; and it was declared to be no other than a *Defensive* one, with Regard only to the mutual Satisfaction of the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and not contradictory, but perfectly agreeable to the Treaty of *London*: So far were They from improving such Usage into a publick Quarrel, that both at Home, and by their Ministers every where Abroad, They express'd a great Pleasure that the *Two Powers*, whom the *Mediators* at *Cambray* could not bring even to Terms of common Civility towards one another, had found the happy Means, without the Ceremony and Assistance of any *Mediator*, to get over Difficulties that had been declared almost insuperable; and to link themselves in the Bands of Friendship, upon Terms, not inconsistent (as it was affirm'd) with the *Repose* of *Europe*. This was the great End of the Congress itself: And, if this End were answer'd; the Mediating Powers were not solicitous about the Means used in compassing it; but could pass over the great Disregard shewn towards Themselves, in Consideration of the solid and common Good obtain'd by this Agreement.

But in how decent a Manner soever, the Courts of *Britain* and *France* treated this Affair: Those of the *Emperor* and *Spain* saw very well that such a Step could not but be very shocking to the *Mediators*; and stood in need of the best Apology They could make. And very luckily (as They or their *Agents* thought) for Themselves, the Behaviour of the Court of *France*, in sending back the *Infanta* to *Spain*; joined with his *Britannick Majesty's* not accepting the sole *Mediation* at *Cambray*; furnished them with one as good as They could have wish'd. And therefore, the *Imperial Ministers* at *Cambray*, at *London*, and at *Paris*, were very ready at first to put it all upon this; and to declare that, the Reason of this extraordinary Step was, that the Court of *France* having affronted his *Catholick Majesty* in so high and so unpardonable a Manner, that *Spain* could not in Honour any longer act with the *Most Christian King*, as a *Mediator*; and the *King* of *Great-Britain* having declined to act as sole *Mediator*, when it was propos'd to him to do so by the *Crown* of *Spain*: This broke off all Hopes of any Effect from the Congress

at *Cambray*; and left his *Catholick Majesty* nothing to do, but to fly to *Vienna*; and, out of a due Resentment of so great an Injury, and the Necessity of his Affairs, to throw himself entirely upon the Honour and Equity of that Court: And, more particularly, that his *Imperial Majesty*, upon *Ripperda's* first Applications, shewed a great Unwillingness to move the *Negotiations* out of their Course at *Cambray*; but at last prevailed upon himself, out of Love to the *Publick Tranquillity*, to consent to the carrying them on at *Vienna*, after he found it more and more plain, that the Resentment of *Spain* against *France*, and his *Britannick Majesty's* Refusal of the *Sole Mediation*, made it impossible to proceed at *Cambray*.

Such was the Language of the *Imperialists*, upon the first Notification of the *Vienna Treaty*, when they thought it needful to make an Apology for it. And tho' it cannot be affirmed that the *Court of Spain* did itself expressly offer this, as the first moving Reason of that Piece of Conduct; yet (according to the best Account from *Spain*) upon the first publick News of the *Vienna Treaty* at *Madrid*, the Discourses of many were taught to run that Way, and to dwell upon that same popular Topick. And without Doubt it was thought a very cunning Part, thus to attribute such a Conduct to sudden *Rage* and *Passion*; that *this* might afford some Colour for a *Treaty* in Appearance so detrimental to *Spain*, and a little palliate the *low-Terms* accepted by that Crown; and by this Means, as they flattered themselves, remove all Suspicion of any pernicious and unjustifiable Secret behind the Curtain, till the due Time came for revealing it.

But as *Facts* and *Dates* are stubborn Things, not to be shaken by the Sound of Words and plausible Speeches; this itself proved the most unlucky Pretence possible: and only opened a Door to the best-grounded Suspicions, that something very bad, too bad to be owned, was at the Bottom of such a Behaviour.

The Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France* were not so idle Spectators of the Affairs of *Europe*, but that they had long before this the most evident Proofs in their Possession, that this Account of that Transaction was impossible to be true. The Resolution of the *Court of France*,

relating to the *Infanta*, did not come (no, not in Suspicion) to *Madrid*, till *March 8. N. S. 1724-5. Ripperda*, who conducted the *new Treaty*, had been sent to *Vienna* above *three Months* before that: And even his *full Powers* for making the *clandestine Treaty* were sign'd *November 22. 1724.* And soon after the *Treaty of Peace* was sign'd in Form at *Vienna*, the publick Language at the Court of *Madrid*, was, that they had looked upon the *Peace* with the *Emperor*, as a Thing sure ever since the preceding *March 29.* on which Day a *Courier* was known to come from *Vienna* to *Madrid*, with the News of all the *principal Articles* being adjusted, *i. e. twenty one Days only*, from the Day of the first News at *Madrid*, of the King of *France's* Resolution of annulling his Marriage with the *Infanta*.

This is so evident a Kind of Demonstration, that Persons of the lowest Understanding cannot but conclude from it, how absurd it is, to make this *Resolution* of the Court of *France*, the first Step towards an Excuse for what was resolved on, and set on Foot, with full Powers signed for the Purpose, above three Months before it. For who is there that cannot immediately see, That a Proceeding authorized, *Nov. 22.* could not be owing to an Affront which was not heard of, till *March 8.* following? And that a *Treaty* thoroughly adjusted, in its main Articles, at *Vienna*, so early in *March*, as to be known at *Madrid* the *Twenty Ninth* of that Month, could not be so much as facilitated, or modelled by what was not known at *Madrid* till the *Eighth* of the same *March*: And which therefore, could not in so few Days be sent to *Vienna*, to operate there; and the *News* of that Operation be return'd to *Madrid*?

But, if possible, it was still more unaccountable to draw an Excuse from his *Britannick Majesty's* not taking upon himself the *sole Mediation* at *Cambray*: which it was well known he could not have done without an open Affront to *France*; and a manifest Violation of the *Quadruple Alliance*; besides other Inconveniencies. For it was not till *March 9. 1724-5.* that the Court of *Spain* mov'd this. --- The Motion was then to be transmitted to *London*; and the Answer to it, to be sent back to *Madrid*. This Answer

swer did not arrive till about *April 24.* following: And therefore, I need not say, cou'd not have the least Part in a *Treaty* set on Foot above *four Months* before, and sign'd in Form *April 30. 1725.* at *Vienna*, i. e. about a Week after his Majesty's declining the *sole Mediation* was known at *Madrid*; and when it was impossible to be known at *Vienna*. These therefore, were Pretences entirely foreign from the true Reasons of that Conduct. The *Treaty of Vienna* was authoritatively begun, and going forward, long before the *Provocation* from *France* could possibly palliate that clandestine and dishonourable Proceeding. And it must have been brought to perfect Maturity, before the Motion was so much as made to his Majesty to take on him the *sole Mediation*; because it was even sign'd in Form before the Intelligence of the King's Resolution against the *sole Mediation* could, with any Certainty, arrive at *Vienna*. And from such an Apology at the first Appearance of the new *Alliance*, the Courts of *Britain* and *France* had a Right to be jealous; and to suspect some Secrets of a very pernicious Nature still behind.

But we have not done with this first Scene. It is proper to observe, that during this whole Proceeding, and for the Space of above three Months after the News of sending back the *Infanta* was come from *France* to *Madrid*, the Expressions of *Friendship* towards the *British Court*, ran as high as possible at the Court of *Spain*, viz. to this Purpose: "That his Catholick Majesty was resolv'd to separate himself for ever from *France*, and place his entire *Friendship* and Confidence solely in the King of Great-Britain:---- That to this End he now desired to enter the most strict Engagements for the rendering that *Friendship* perpetual. ---- That it was hoped, his Majesty would suffer the Negotiations at *Cambray* to go on under his Mediation only, into whose Hands he was desirous to put all his Interests, &c." whilst all this Time *Ripperda* was acting with full Powers at *Vienna*, in Contradiction not only to this *Mediation*, and the Measures by which it must have been conducted, had his Majesty accepted it; but, as we shall soon see, to all subsisting Engagements, and in Violation of the *Laws* of *Friendship* and *Amity* between Nations. Nay, whenever that *Negotiation*

tiation of *Ripperda's* at *Vienna* happened to be touch'd upon, as a Piece of common Talk only, the Language of the Court of *Spain* was, " *That he was an enterprising Man, and loved to make a Noise in the World:*" insinuating by this, that That Court had no Part in what *Ripperda* was doing at *Vienna*.

When his Majesty's Reasons for not taking upon himself the sole *Mediation* were represented at *Madrid*, the Force of them was acknowledged by that Court: And at the same Time a great Willingness was expressed to accept even of a *Reparation* from *France*, for the Indignity offer'd to *Spain*, so it might come thro' the Hands of the King of Great-Britain, and the Pleasure that Court would have, upon such a *Reparation*, " in the Prosecution of the Negotiations at *Cambray*, in the Manner in which they were begun; His Majesty being a common Friend to both Parties, and One of whose Affection *Spain* had so often, and particularly upon this last Occasion, received the most essential Proofs." I hardly need to observe, that at this very Time Things were so ripe at *Vienna*, that the Treaty of Peace was sign'd in Form, April 30. about seven or eight Days after this Language of Friendship at the Court of *Madrid*; and after these earnest Desires expressed, of the Continuation of the Negotiations at *Cambray* in the Manner in which they were begun.

But this Way of Speaking did not cease yet: For after May 21. on which Day a Courier arrived at *Madrid*, with the News that the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and *Spain*, was sign'd on April 30. After this publick Intelligence of a Treaty sign'd at *Vienna*, the Language of the Court of *Spain* was full of Excuses for not having communicated the Steps of this Negotiation at *Vienna* to his Britannick Majesty; and full of the usual Professions of " a particular Regard for his Friendship, and a sincere Desire of cultivating the strictest Union with him together with all Assurances, " That nothing had been stipulated in this Treaty, in any wise prejudicial to the King, or to the Interests of his Subjects, or in the least contrary to any of the Engagements enter'd into with him, either separately or jointly with *France*; and Expressions of a deep Sense of the great Obligations that

— Court

“ Court had to his Majesty for the Proofs he had so often given of his Friendship and Regard for the Interest of Spain ; always accompanied with the Hope, that what had happened would in no wise lessen his Majesty’s Friendship, which this Court entirely depended upon, and desired to cultivate by all the Ways possible.”

There were indeed Tokens and Symptoms of Evil continually, during this whole Scene of Civility, shewing themselves ; fully sufficient to guard against all Trust in any such Professions, either of the Court of *Madrid*, or that of *Vienna* : And these, succeeded by worse and worse Appearances ; and at last, by such certain Proofs as can leave no doubt of a *Secret Treaty* of the most dangerous Consequence between the two new *Allies*. And I will now mention some, in the Order of their Time.

I. On *May 1. O. S. 1725.* the *Emperor’s Minister* at *London* notified in Form to the Court of *Great-Britain*, the Signing of a *Treaty of Peace* at *Vienna* between his Master and the King of *Spain* : And communicated a Copy of that *Treaty* at the same Time. After Assurances that this *Treaty* was made upon the Foot of the *Quadruple Alliance*, with strick Regard to all former Engagements, and the like ; He expressed his Imperial Majesty’s Hope, that his *Britannick Majesty* would accede to this *Treaty* ; and by Virtue of that *Accession* be Guarantee to the Succession to the Territories of the *Emperor*, as settled in his Family by a late Constitution : And before he concluded, said, “ That, after the signing of the *Vienna Treaty*, *Ripperda* acquainted the *Emperor* that there remain’d still some Things to regulate between the King his Master, and the King of *Great-Britain* ; and that the King of *Spain* requested the *Emperor* to make use of his *Mediation*, for the settling them : That the *Emperor* had answer’d, that if these Affairs had any Relation to the *Treaty of London* or arose in Consequence of that *Treaty* ; and if it should prove agreeable to his *Britannick Majesty*, he would employ his *Mediation* ; but otherwise, He would not concern himself with them.”

To all this it was answer’d, “ That, as for the Signing of the *Treaty of Vienna*, it was no News here ; his Majesty having already by a *Courier* received Advice of
“ it :

“ it: That, with Regard to the *Guaranty* mentioned,
 “ his *Majesty* could not consent to burthen himself with
 “ new Obligations, by being *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion*
 “ lately eſtabliſhed by the *Emperor*; but was reſolved to
 “ leave his Hands at Liberty, in order to have it in his
 “ Power to regard, and aſſiſt, his true Friends upon all
 “ Occaſions that may ariſe; and that, as for what he had
 “ related as repreſented by *Ripperda* to his *Imperial Ma-*
 “ *jeſty*, this Court knew of nothing *Britain* had to ſet-
 “ tle with *Spain*, but ſome Points of *Commerce*, for which
 “ there could be no need of a *Mediator*.”

And certainly, no one can think but that it was wiſely and happily judged, to reſuſe a *Guaranty*, which might have been attended with ſo fatal Conſequences. For, as the *Emperor*'s Children are now *Females* only; and the Influence of that *Succeſſion* upon *Europe* muſt depend upon the *Marriages* of theſe *Females*; and as no one then knew, to what *Princes* they might be hereafter married: It was wiſe in his *Majeſty* not to oblige himſelf to ſupport a *Succeſſion* which might poſſibly, by ſome future *Marriages*, become formidable to the reſt of *Europe*; and fatal in the End to *Britain* it ſelf. And as it was wiſe, ſo it is already proved to be happy, that ſuch an Engagement was reſuſed: For (as it will by and by appear) the *Succeſſion* is already in Proſpect formidable; the *Archducheſſes* are deſtin'd to the *Infants* of *Spain*, and ſuch a Power ariſing from this Conjunction, as in all humane Probability may make the reſt of *Europe* tremble.

Nor can the Argument taken from the *Emperor*'s *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* here, in his *Majeſty*'s Family, (which has been ſince urged,) be of any Force in this Caſe. For, in the *fiſt Treaty* between his *Majeſty* and the *Emperor*, this *Prince* abſolutely reſuſed to be *Guaranty* to our *Succeſſion*; and never would hear of it, 'till by the *Quadruple Alliance* his *Majeſty* had obtained for him the great Advantage of the Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. As therefore, his *Imperial Majeſty* reſuſ'd the *Guaranty* of the *Succeſſion* here, in his *Majeſty*'s Royal Family, in one Treaty tho' a Treaty entered into and proſecuted with perfect Amity on both Sides; and as He would not afterwards come into it, but upon a very ſignal and beneficial Acquiſition to him-
 ſelf

self first settled: *This* cannot be judged a good *Argument* for his *Majesty*, to *accede* to a *Treaty* enter'd into and finish'd, not only without his *Privy*; not only without any *Regard* to his *Friendship*, or any one *Mark* of *Respect* towards him; but in open *Disrespect* to him, as *Mediator* at a *Congress* then subsisting; and, under these very different *Circumstances*, to become a *Guarantee* of a *Succession*, of the *Consequences* of which, to his own *Kingdoms*, and the rest of *Europe*, no *Judgment* could be made, till the *Marriages* of the two *Archduchesses* should come to be settled and known. But, to return to our present *Subject*.

This Proposal of the *King's* being a *Guarantee* for the new establish'd *Succession* in *Germany*, [to which the *Emperor* could not in *Reason* expect a *Compliance*] consider'd alone, gave *Ground* for a *Suspicion*, that some latent *Matter* for *Quarrel* was now *treasuring* up. And this *Suspicion* justly increased, upon the *Offer* of the *Emperor's Mediation*, coming at the same *Time* with this *Treaty* itself. For this *Offer* supposed *Differences* between *Britain* and *Spain*: And as these must be *Differences* without any real *Ground*, (every material *Thing* being settled by *Treaties* between those two *Nations*,) this look'd like a *Design* to blow up a *Fire* where there was none; and to presume an *Uneasiness* between *Spain* and *Britain*, which might be improved hereafter into an open *Rupture*.

It is impossible, as we pass, not to observe how very artful the *Manner* of this first *Proposition* must now appear, since *Things* have opened more to the *Eyes* of the *World*. The *Offer*, we see, is made for accommodating *Differences*, without naming, or hinting at, any particular one. There could be no doubt but that the *Offer* was really made with *Relation* to *Gibraltar*. The *Emperor's* *Minister* was not to name this: But some time after, the *Court* of *Madrid* openly avowed, that the *Mediation* of the *Emperor* which *Spain* had accepted, was a *Mediation* for the *Restitution* of *Gibraltar*: Nay, and some time after that, the *Emperor* himself, (as we shall soon see) orders his *Resident* here, to shew the *Words*, in which he had obliged himself to this *Mediation* for *Gibraltar*. Again, this *Offer* is made, merely as arising from a *Dis-*
course

course of *Ripperda's* ; without the least Hint of any *Obligation* upon the *Emperor* to make it, or to prosecute it. And afterwards, this Offer of *Mediation* appears, by Order of the Imperial Court, as an express *Article* of a *Treaty* between *Him* and *Spain*. But, what is still more, his Imperial Majesty by his *Minister* represents his Answer to *Ripperda* to have been, that he would not concern himself in any Affair that did not arise in consequence of the *Treaty of London*, not even so far as to use his *Mediation*. And afterwards (as it will presently appear) by his *Resident* here, produces the Article itself, by which he had engaged himself to use his good Offices, that is, his *Mediation*, for the Restitution of *Gibraltar* ; of that Place, the Possession of which was known to be ascertained to the Crown of *Great-Britain* by that very *Treaty of London*, confirming the *Treaty of Utrecht* ; and about which therefore, it was as well known, that there could be no just Ground for a Difference.

All this sufficiently confirms, in Event, the Justice of that *Suspicion* of some *Secret Agreements* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which the Offer of this *Mediation* immediately raised in the Court of *Great-Britain* : And this, before the *Treaty of Peace* now delivered could be read and considered. But,

2. When the *Treaty* itself was read and examined ; and such *Friendship* was seen to be established between such *Powers*, upon such *Terms* ; the Consideration of this might justly raise yet stronger *Suspensions*. For thus the Case appeared. Nothing was found in this *Treaty of Peace*, of Importance, or, so much as in Appearance, Honourable to *Spain* : Nothing of the *Order* of the *Golden Fleece*, which had been so much insisted on at the Congress : Nothing of the *Titles* to be used by these two *Powers*, but what might easily have been settled there, much more to the Honour of *Spain*. And, if we come to Points of much more Importance ; the *Neutral Garrisons*, which, by the *Quadruple Alliance*, were to be the great Bulwarks of the Succession of *Don Carlos* to *Tuscany* ; and every Thing the *Mediators* had propos'd for his Security, and that of the Duke of *Parma*, were all lost to *Spain* by this Proceeding : Whilst the *Emperor* gains every Thing,

Thing, and particularly the *Guaranty* of his own *Succession* by *Spain*, which the *Imperial Ambassadors* had solicited in vain at the *Congress*.

To see, therefore, *Two Powers*, full of such a *Rancour* against one another as had resisted the Influence of a powerful *Mediation* for *several Years*, now in so short a *Space of Time* running into one another's *Embraces*, with so much *Eagerness* and *Precipitation* : — To find (upon comparing this *new Treaty* with former *Pretensions*,) the *Crown of Spain*, at *Cambray*, so exceedingly uneasy with the good *Terms* it was sure of obtaining by the *Congress* there ; at *Vienna*, so readily submitting to much worse : — At *Cambray*, not to be satisfied with the *Emperor's Faith*, even with the *Guaranty* of *Britain* and *France* together ; at *Vienna*, entirely depending upon the *Faith* of the same *Emperor*, without any *Guaranty* present or to come : — What could be collected from such an *Appearance*, even upon the first *Reading*, but that this *Treaty of Peace* now communicated at *London*, was not the sole *Treaty* made at *Vienna* ; but that there must be a *secret* one still behind, too unjustifiable to be yet revealed ? And of this more *Suspicious* followed thick upon one another. For,

3. Soon after the *Treaty of Peace* was signed at *Vienna* which was *April 30, 1725*. *Ripperda's Insolences* towards his *Majesty*, and even *Threatnings* began ; and from that *Time* continued, till it was thought more *politick* to be more *silent*. Of these, the *Advices* from *Vienna*, were now perpetually full. Such, for *Instance*, as these that follow, were his common *Discourses*.

“ If *King George* supports *France*, we know very well
 “ how to place the *Pretender* upon the *Throne*. — *Alberoni*
 “ was a *Great Man*, but committed many *Blunders* : One
 “ great one was, That he sent the *Spanish Fleet* to *Sicily*,
 “ instead of sending it to *England*, to dethrone the *King*
 “ which might easily then have been done : And this once
 “ done, the way had been made plain for every Thing else.
 “ — *King George* had best consider how to come to *Terms*
 “ with us ; for we have it in our *Power* to push the *Pre-*
 “ tender's *Interests* with *Efficacy*.” And in all his *Dis-*
courses of this Sort, he always took it for granted, that

the Court of Vienna, would never make the least Hesitation to enter into all the Measures of Spain.

His Conversations of this peculiar Malignancy towards his *Britannick Majesty*, were without Number, and without Measure. And so far was he from seeming to desire, they might be kept secret, that one of his Speeches to his Company was this: *I know all that I say, is told again. I am very glad of it. I say what I say on Purpose that it may be told.* Nor did he speak with much greater Respect of his *Majesty's* Allies. Particularly upon the Mention of the Treaty of Hanover, between the Kings of Great-Britain, France and Prussia, he said aloud, *Yes, yes, We shall teach these little Gentlemen (Petits Messieurs) to make Treaties.* And I will add here that, about this same Time, a very considerable Man in the Court of Vienna, was not much behind Ripperda himself in his Regards towards his *Majesty*; when, in a Conversation, upon a Person's expressing his Doubt about his *Britannick Majesty's* undertaking to be Guarantee of the *Austrian Succession*, he answered with a great deal of Emotion, *Then let him look to himself; for we are well inform'd they begin to be weary of him in England.*

We may well think these and many more *Insults* and *Threatnings*, from Persons of such Figure at that Time, sufficient to create new *Suspitions*, as well as to strengthen Those already created. Such Usage, and such Freedom of Language, could not arise out of *nothing*; but must be the Effect of some *Agreements* and *Resolutions*, not yet appearing to the World.

4. These *Suspitions* were greatly confirm'd by the Accounts from Vienna of Ripperda's Expressions of another Sort, immediately after the signing the Treaty of Peace: Expressions, I mean, dropt sometimes, as it were accidentally, upon several very important Points. He did not scruple, in proper Places, and upon proper Occasions, to declare in Conversation, that Spain was engaged to support the *Ostend Company*; and when that led the Discourse to Gibraltar, he said, *We know Gibraltar to be impregnable; but by the Measures we have now taken here, we assure Our selves we shall oblige England to give it up.* At the same Time, he spake of the Marriage of Don Carlos with the eldest

eldest Archdutchess as a Thing agreed upon, and added, the Prince of Asturias, for whom this Match was first designed, is consumptive, and can't live. And surely, such Expressions must amount to the strongest Suspicions of a Treaty, as yet Secret, of which these Three important Points must make a Part. This is the least we can say of such Discourse, coming from a Principal Agent in this New Alliance; though at this Time only in the Way of accidental Conversation.

5. These Suspicions grew stronger, upon the Appearance of the Treaty of Commerce: which, tho' signed at Vienna on the Day after the Treaty of Peace, yet, was not communicated to the Court of Great-Britain by the Emperor's Order; nor any Notifications to this Hour, made, of such a Treaty, either before or since the Signing it. The King's Minister at Vienna, procured a Copy of it, as soon as it was printed there, and transmitted it to London. When this came to be read; and when it appeared in the plainest Light, that, by the Express Words of it, such Alterations were made in the Commerce of Europe, as must begin in the Ruin of our East and West-India Trade, and end in that of all the other valuable Branches of our Commerce: What could the Court of Great-Britain conclude from such a Treaty, but that even This, bad as it is, is not all; that there must be something yet unknown to put in the Balance, on the Side of Spain, for all these unparalleled Advantages given, against the express Words of former Treaties, to the Emperor and his Subjects; and that They, who were capable of entring into such Articles as these, which now appear'd, could not hope to succeed in them, without other Articles, and another Treaty, still kept in Darkness, till the proper Time of producing it should come?

6. About the End of July, or the Beginning of August, the D--- of Wh--- arrived at Vienna. The Court of London was not ignorant of his real Errand: nor of the Sum of Money he received, in his Journey, towards his Expences, from the Pretender's Friends. And tho' he disguis'd his Design a little, when he first appear'd at Vienna; and pretended to his Majesty's Friends there, that his View was only to travel for a few Years, till the
Memory

Memory of his Extravagancies at home might be a little effac'd, and his private Affairs in better Order: yet, he quickly acted another Part in all his Conversation and Conduct. He soon grew intimate with *Ripperda*, with whom he had frequent Conferences, and from whom he was known to receive Money. He was admitted to the Conversation of the principal Persons of the Court of *Vienna*. And during his whole Stay, both *He* and *Graham*, the Pretender's Agent at *Vienna*, had a very particular Intimacy with the *Russian Minister* at that Court. At first the Project was, that *He* was to return to *England*; and do great Exploits there. But when he himself began not to think *England* a very safe Place for one who had laid himself so open; the Design of his Return thither was laid aside: and another Plan was then concerted, of sending him to *Rome* to the Pretender, and from thence to *Spain*. And before he parted from *Vienna*, his intimate and Fellow-Labourer *Graham*, had long Conferences with a Person of great Importance at that Court: as he had afterwards several others. This Conduct of *Wh---n* at *Vienna*, and of so many considerable Persons whilst he was there, still increased the Opinion, that the new Alliance could not be so innocent a Thing as the publick Treaty of Peace.

7. The smooth Language at *Madrid* was by this Time gradually abated, and at length quite changed. At the End of *June 1725*. the Court of *Spain* openly avowed the Acceptance of the *Emperor's Mediation* for the Restitution of *Gibraltar*; but at the same Time made the usual Professions of Friendship for the King of *Great-Britain*, and hoped that this Acceptance of that Mediation, would not offend him. Nor did this Court make any Scruple frankly now to own that the *Affair* of *Gibraltar* had been from the Beginning a principal Point, concerted betwixt the *Emperor* and *Spain*. In Consequence of this, about the Middle of *July* following, *M. Grimaldo*, by Order of his Catholick Majesty, wrote a Letter to His *Britannick Majesty's* Minister at *Madrid*; the Conclusion of which was very Peremptory: "That the Continuance of the Alliance and Commerce of *Great-Britain* with *Spain*, depended upon his Majesty's restoring *Gibraltar* forth-
" with."

“ with. ” And the Language of this Court, from this Time, was of an insulting Strain, with regard even to the King himself, who was then at *Hanover*; and in Words, not very civil, to this Effect, “ *Let him make haste home, and call his Parliament, and propose the Restitution immediately.* ” This Alteration in the Language of the Court of *Madrid*; this demanding *Gibraltar* in so peremptory a Manner, which *Britain* possesses by *Treaties* sign’d by this King of *Spain* himself, gave another just Ground of Suspicion of a *Secret Offensive Treaty*, of a very pernicious Nature.

8. What confirm’d all these Suspicions very much, was, the Reception of *Ripperda* at *Madrid*; of the Man who had been the Maker of the *Vienna Treaties*, and who had used His Majesty in so insolent and outrageous a Manner. For, as before his coming thither, no Satisfaction was ever given at *Madrid*, upon Complaint made of these *Affronts* and *Threatnings*: So, after it, all Honours, Profits, and Trusts, were heap’d upon him, in a Degree hardly ever known.

And it was but reasonable to conclude from hence, That, as the Court of *Spain* had verifed one Part of his publick Discourses at *Vienna*, by demanding *Gibraltar*; so the aggrandizing and honouring him in so extravagant a Manner, without so much as the least Disavowal of his Behaviour, at *Vienna*, towards the King of *Great-Britain*, was a Sort of Declaration, in Effect, that his whole Conduct, of which this was so remarkable a Part, was not only not displeasing at *Madrid*; but perfectly agreeable to the main Design, and Tendency of the new Alliance, begun, conducted, and finish’d by this very Man at *Vienna*. And indeed, daring as *Ripperda* was, yet, it is hardly conceivable that he would have dared to have treated His Britannick Majesty, in that insolent Manner: Had he not known it to be agreeable to the Tenor of the new Alliance; and been well assured he should be supported in it.

These were all Suspicions, or something stronger than Suspicions, built upon Appearances that could have no Interpretation put upon them; and could have no Meaning, nor Consistency in them; unless upon the Supposition of another Treaty between the Emperor and *Spain*, besides that made publick to the World. But we can still carry this Matter from Suspicion to Certainty; For,

9. As there are Times and Seasons, when the Discovery of Secrets may be thought to be of such singular Use, as to countervail all the Inconveniencies of doing it : So it happened in this Case. *Ripperda*, now His *Catholic Majesty's* Prime Minister at *Madrid*, thought it of the highest Importance to use all Means to prevent the Accession of the *Dutch* to the *Treaty* of *Hanover*. And when he saw that other Methods failed of this Effect upon the *Dutch Ambassador* there; he had Recourse to those which he thought would terrify the *States*, in their present Situation, from all Thoughts of doing it. At the Beginning therefore of *February* 1725-6. with the utmost Seriousness and Positiveness, he assured both the *British* and *Dutch* Minister at that Court, that there was a *secret offensive Treaty* between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, in which they had obliged themselves mutually to support one another in their several Demands : And of this *Treaty*, he told them three particular Articles. I. That the *Emperor* was to assist *Spain*, in the obtaining *Gibraltar*. II. That *Spain* was to support the *Emperor* in his new Establishment of the *Ostend Company*. III. And the Third was an Article, to settle the Quotas of Money on one Side, and Soldiers on the other, for the Purposes of this *secret Treaty*. This was to influence the *Dutch* to judge that it would be in vain to endeavour to alter or unsettle that *Ostend Trade*, which was so resolved upon, and so guarded.

M. de Ripperda might have added another secret Engagement, into which the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* had entered; viz. to undertake the placing the Pretender on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, and to begin with that Enterprize, before they proceeded to the Execution of their further Projects for involving all *Europe* in War and Confusion. Of this Engagement the Court of *Great-Britain* received such certain Intelligence from several Quarters; that it is no more to be doubted, than these Particulars of the secret *Offensive Alliance*, avowed and declared by *M. de Ripperda*.

M. de Ripperda's profess'd Discovery of a *secret Treaty*, was soon farther confirmed by what followed. An Account of this frank and open Discovery was immediately sent to the Court of *Great-Britain*. And, at the opening of the last

last Session of *Parliament*, A Noble Person in an high Station, agreeably to that Regard he owed to his Country; and to the Satisfaction due to that *August Assembly*, of which he was a Member, publicly declared it, in the House of *Lords*; as an undoubted Truth, and what *Ripperda* had own'd, That there was a secret *Offensive Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, which contained *Articles* in it destructive of the Rights of *Britain*, both with Regard to its *Possessions* and its *Commerce* abroad. This positive and undisguised Declaration in *Parliament*, made a great Noise without Doors. And, upon the Signification of this, to the Court of *Vienna*, the *Imperial Resident* here was ordered to give Satisfaction to the *British Court*, upon this Subject. Accordingly, he came to some of His Majesty's Ministers, and read out of a Paper the Words which he said were the Contents of the Article which His Master had enter'd into relating to *Gibraltar*. The which implied, that his Master had engaged to use His good Offices for the Restitution of *Gibraltar*. And this was ordered to be produced, as a full and satisfactory Proof that there was no such Thing as a secret *Offensive Alliance* between the two new *Allies*. One would think indeed, that no such *Effect* could possibly have been intended by this Proceeding, or expected from it. For, as upon this Occasion, it might have been naturally and justly expected, as a Thing absolutely necessary to the Vindication of the Court of *Vienna*, that the *Imperial Resident* here, should have been order'd to have shewn likewise what followed immediately this Article; and indeed the Treaty it self, of which it was a Part; And as neither of these was ordered or suffered to be done; the Whole of this taken together, will prove the Truth of that very Imputation, which the Court of *Vienna* designed by this Step to vindicate itself from, as from something unjustifiable and dishonourable.

If from *Vienna*, we go back once again to *Madrid*, we shall find still more *Evidences* of a secret Treaty. For just about the same Time that *Ripperda* spake so openly to the two *Ambassadors*, the King of *Spain* himself wrote a Letter to the *States General* for the same Purpose of keeping them from acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*: which was read in the *Assembly* of the *States of Holland*, Feb. 8. N. S.

1715-6. In this He acquaints Them, That " He stands
 " obliged to assist his Imperial Majesty, in case of a War,
 " or Insult—which He will perform — making it a com-
 " mon Cause — holding for Enemies those who shall be
 " Enemies of His Imperial Majesty." All which, as de-
 nounced to the States, who had no Uneasiness with the
Emperor, but on account of the *Ostend Company*, must re-
 gard only that; and can have no Meaning but this, That,
 if the *Dutch* should act, merely in their own Defence, and
 in support of their own Rights, against that Company;
 His *Catholick Majesty* had entered into an Engagement to
 assist the *Emperor*, and support the *Ostend Company* by
 Force, if needful: As it was explained by that King's
Minister himself at the *Hague*, in a Declaration made by
 him, " That His Catholick Majesty would look upon
 " whatever should be undertaken against the *Ostend Compa-*
 " ny, as done against Himself." This is an open owning
 of a Treaty, besides that already *Publick*; and of an *Engage-*
ment in it to support the *Ostend Company* by Force.

To proceed; when about two Months after the first De-
 claration made by *Ripperda*, it was represented at *Madrid*,
 how much the Court of *Great-Britain* was surprized at
 this open Discovery made to the two *Ambassadors*, of a se-
 cret *Offensive Treaty*: No other Reply could be obtained,
 but, in general Words, That the Court of *Spain* still de-
 sired the Friendship of *Great-Britain*; and that the En-
 gagements enter'd into at *Vienna*, would not hinder this.
 Nor could any Thing that was urged, move that Court,
 either to own this *secret Treaty*; or at all to deny it. Very
 soon after this, the two *Ambassadors* thought it proper to
 have a Conference with *Ripperda*; in which he began a
 little to shuffle, and to interpret away what he had said of
 an *Offensive Treaty*, by endeavouring to persuade them,
 That it was little more than a *Defensive One*. But being
 press'd by Both, who agreed in what he had before told
 them; and required peremptorily to answer, whether he
 had not declared to them expressly that there was a *secret*
Offensive Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, He an-
 swered, That he had told them so; and added, That all he
 had told them was true. And how indeed could he possi-
 bly deny it, since there was not a *Foreigner* of any Distinction

on at *Madrid*, who had not heard him, without reserve, declare the same about this *secret Offensive Alliance*. And whom can we believe in such a Case; if not a Prime Minister so often affirming a Matter of Fact to so many; whilst neither the King his *Master*, nor any of his other *Ministers* at that Time denied it; or at all look'd as if they had any Thoughts then of denying it.

And once more, when an Application was made at *Madrid*, from the *British Court*, with Relation particularly to the Part which *Spain* appeared now to take in the Affair of the *Offend Trade*; at first nothing was avow'd, but an Obligation to use *Good Offices* for accommodating that Affair. But, when a *Proposal* was offer'd, which the Court of *Spain* acknowledg'd to be a very *reasonable* One; and when upon this it was urg'd, That, since this *Proposal* was thought a *reasonable* One; if the Imperial Court should refuse to listen to it; This would be a just Reason why *Spain* should not support the *Emperor* any farther in what *Spain* it self judg'd to be reasonable; It was answer'd "This could not be allowed: For *Spain* must stand by its *Engagements* with the *Emperor*." This was a plain Acknowledgement of farther *Engagements*, and of another Sort, than those of a *Friendly Accommodation*; and by just Consequence, of a *secret Offensive Treaty*. For such *Engagements* must be enter'd into by *Treaties*; and this *Treaty* must be distinct from *That* already publish'd, which does not contain them; and it must be an *Offensive Treaty*, because it is in support of an Invasion made upon the Rights of Others; and in Opposition to those who set only in Defence of those Rights founded upon the most solemn *Treaties*.

After all this, it is too late for the Court of *Spain* to sink the Credit of this *Discovery* made by *Rippon* to the two Ambassadors; or to think of destroying the Credibility of what this Court it self has given Testimony to. All the Circumstances of this Affair, as I have related them, make it too plain to be now evaded. And all who know any Thing of *Publick Affairs*, will look upon what I have now produced, as a positive and convincing Evidence of what before was only a strong *Suspicion*.

This therefore, we are too sure of; That the now publick *Treaty* of Peace, made at *Vienna*, was it self enter'd

into without the least Provocation from the *Mediators*: In contradiction to an *Express Article* of the *Quadruple Alliance*, appointing this *Mediation* alone for the adjusting remaining Differences; cover'd all the time at *Madrid* with the smoothest Language, and the pretended earnest Desire of proceeding still at *Cambray*; and made up of Articles so dishonourable to *Spain*, that nothing can account for them, but the *Supposition* of another, and this an *Offensive Treaty*, yet private: That this is not only *Supposition* upon *Conjecture*; but is proved to Us, by Arguments too strong to be denied; the repeated Affirmation of *Him* who was made *Prime Minister of Spain* after he had made this *Treaty*; the Acknowledgments in Effect to the Two Courts themselves of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, with regard to *Gibraltar*, and the *Offend Trade*; and the Order from *Vienna* for producing at *London* an *Article of a Treaty*, in such Words and such a Manner, as makes it impossible to doubt of the Reality of it.

We will now see what Light we can get into the Nature of This so certain *Offensive Alliance*; and the other *Treaties* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*: And in what Manner *we* Our selves are likely to be affected by *Them*; with regard to, the great and only Security of all Our other good Things, the present *Protestant Royal Family*; with regard to the Possessions of *Great-Britain* in *Spain*; with regard to the settled Rights and Privileges of the Nation in *Trade* and *Commerce*; and indeed, in consequence of these, with regard to our being, or not being, at all, a Nation worth existing. If after this, we extend our Views farther, We shall see what is likely to be the Fate of Europe; and what will become of the Balance of Power, if the main Designs projected in this late Alliance at *Vienna*, should be permitted to take effect. This Enquiry is the only way to our making a true Judgment of the Steps taken by *Britain*, and the Powers in Alliance with it. And when we have done this, — Let them that are Blind, be Blind still.

I. The first Enquiry which will offer it self, upon this occasion, to the Mind of every True *Briton*, will arise from the Interest We all have, in the preservation of our present

sent Protestant Establishment; and our Concern to find out how *This* is already, or will probably be, affected by this *New Alliance*.

I know very well how easy and how common it is, to laugh at the Name of the Pretender, whenever it is mentioned upon such Occasions; as a Political Bugbear, or Scare-crow; a mere Word of Alarm; or a Puppet to be play'd by Statesmen at their Pleasure, and whenever their Designs require it. But it would be very unfortunate for Great-Britain, and end in the total Ruin of Us and our Posterity; if Those who are at the Helm, should suffer themselves, at the Pleasure of such as wish them no good, to be laugh'd out of that Care and Wakefulness which their King and their Country require of them. There is not a Day, nor an Hour, in which the Necessity of Attention to this great Point, does not appear: Nor is there I fear, any Crisis of Affairs in Europe possible, at this Time, without *This* bearing a great Part in it. And therefore, when a Breach with a Protestant King of Great-Britain, who loves his Subjects too honestly to give up their greatest Concerns to the Demands of any Power upon Earth, is thought convenient and useful; no one can help concluding, from the known Principles of the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, that the Moment They resolved upon entering into an Alliance so injurious to his Britannick Majesty, and so destructive to the Interests of Britain: the same Moment another Resolution must also be taken; the Resolution of giving His Majesty all the Uneasiness they could; even in his highest Rights; and either forcing Him by this Means to Their Terms; or preparing the Way for a King of Britain after their own Hearts, from whom they may expect all Submission and Compliance. But this is only a probable Argument. Let us come now to Facts.

I have already mentioned some Preliminaries; the Journey of Wh—n to Vienna; and his Conduct and Intrigues and Encouragements there; as well as Ripperda's threatening King George with the Pretender, before he left Vienna. But afterwards the Appearances of a settled Design against His Majesty and His Royal Family, soon began to thicken apace; and the Intelligences about it to be very positive;

positive, from all the Friends of *Great Britain*, at almost every Court of *Europe*.

In the first Place, according to what had been before concerted at *Vienna*, the D^y of *Wh-n*, with Letters Recommendatory from young *Ripperda*, went for *Rome*, directly to the *Spanish Minister* residing there. By this Minister, he was introduced to the Pretender. In the Pretender's House, he was kept close shut up for Six Days, to hide, if possible, his being there: and, after very close Conference, was posted away to *Madrid*, where old *Ripperda*, his great and intimate Friend, was now in high Credit and Honour.

Thither he came with *Credentials* from the Pretender; and, as a publick Mark of Confidence in him, adorn'd with a Garter, and a new Title; and was very kindly entertain'd at *Madrid*, with these open Distinctions of Treason and Perjury upon him. And tho' it was often said, and promised and sworn to, by *Ripperda*, that this New Agent should be sent away in twenty four Hours Time; and as strongly sworn to, that he never admitted him, nor ever would, into his Company; yet he still remain'd at *Madrid* without any Mark of Displeasure; and was known to be frequently with *Ripperda* himself in close Conference. His Intimacy with Count *Koningssee*, the Imperial Minister at *Madrid*, and the Freedom of his Visits to him, were very remarkable, at a Time when he profess'd himself to come into *Spain* on no other Errand but the Pretender's Service; and this, without Reserve to the *English* themselves at *Madrid*, who were in the Friendship, and even in the Service of the Crown of *Britain*. This made it certain, that the Business of these frequent Meetings with Persons of Character, both in the *Spanish* and *Imperial* Service, could be no other, than that which brought him to *Madrid*. At the same Time the late Duke of *Ormond* was admitted to frequent Audiences at Court: in which no one could think that the Interests of his Master were forgot. On the contrary, Now it was that several Projects for the Execution of what was the sole End of *Wh-n's* Journey to *Madrid*, were laid before the Court of *Spain*; to be weigh'd and considered in their several Probabilities.

What

What can the greatest Well-wisher to this *New Alliance* say, in Apology for this Conduct of the Court of Spain; as well these Audiences given now to the late Duke of *Ormond*, as the Reception the D--- of *Wh---n* was favour'd with, at a Time when he came directly commission'd by the Pretender; and never attempted to hide the full Intent of his Journey? What can any one say, who will but read the *sixth Article* of the Peace of *Utrecht*; in which the *Catholick King* doth Promise, as well in his own Name, as in that of his Heirs and Successors, that they will not at any Time disturb or molest the Queen, her Heirs and Successors of the Protestant Line, being in Possession of the Crown of Great-Britain and the Dominions Subject thereunto; neither will the aforesaid Catholick King, or any of his Successors, give at any Time any Aid, Succour, Favour or Counsel, directly or indirectly, to any Person or Persons, who on any Cause or Pretence should hereafter endeavour to oppose the said Succession by open War, or by any Conspiracies against such Prince and Princes, possessing the Throne of Great-Britain, by Virtue of the Acts of Parliament made there. And, since his present Majesty came to the Throne, in Art. 5. of the *Quadruple Alliance* (to which *Quadruple Alliance* the present King of Spain acceded, before the opening of the Congress at *Cambray*) His Catholick Majesty (as the Emperor had done before) binds himself, His Heirs and Successors, to maintain and guaranty the Succession in the Kingdom of Great-Britain, as established in the House of his Britannick Majesty now reigning; as likewise to defend all the Dominions and Provinces possessed by his Majesty; and not to give and grant any Protection or Refuge to the Pretender (there described) or his Descendants, nor any Succour, Counsel, or Assistance whatsoever, directly or indirectly. And to observe the same [i. e. not to give Reception, Succour, &c.] with Regard to those who may be order'd or commission'd by the said Person [the Pretender] to disturb the Government of his Britannick Majesty, or the Tranquillity of his Kingdoms, &c. Let but the late and present Conduct of the Court of Spain be compared with these expresse Stipulations: and every Reader may be left to make his own Inferences from such a Comparison. To return,

The Evil I was speaking of, was not to rest in Words and Schemes : Nor were the Projects I have mentioned, only proposed in *Theory*. Preparations were actually made in *Spain*, to put the determin'd Purpose in Execution : Of which Preparations I will enumerate certain Particulars that could not be concealed.

In *February* 1725-6, a Resolution was taken to send a Body of Troops consisting of 12000 Men, to the Coasts of *Galicia* and *Biscay*. There were at that Time at *Cadiz* several *Spanish* Ships that were plainly design'd for an Imbarkation : Two of them were of 70 Guns, one of 64, one of 56, one of 26, and one of 24 ; and all Victuall'd for a Hundred Days. And at *Cadiz*, it now was, that 4800 Arms were known to have been bought, and destin'd to the Pretender's Service. His Majesty's Minister at *Madrid* did indeed, upon the Discovery made to Him of the Place where they lay in Pawn for a certain Sum, take effectual Care, by first laying down that Sum, and afterwards paying their whole Price, to keep them out of the Hands of the first Purchasers, who earnestly solicited to have them, and frequently offer'd the Money which had been lent on them. For he knew from undoubted Intelligence, the Purpose they were intended for. Besides these Ships at *Cadiz* ; there were likewise then in *Spain*, three *Russian* Men of War, one of 64 Guns, and the other two of about 40 Guns each, equipp'd some Time before from *Petersbourg*, which came to *Cadiz* in the Beginning of *Winter* 1725, to carry on the Pretence of Merchandize ; but in *December* went from thence to *St. Andero*, and lay there the three following Months.

As to these three Ships, the Court of *Great-Britain*, some Time after they had sailed from *Petersburg*, made a full Discovery, by Letters from the Pretender's Agent there, and others concerned in this Transaction, which fell into their Hands ; that they had been fitted out at the Expence of the Pretender's Friends, with the Privy of the Court of *Petersburg*, and sent to *Spain* to be employed in an Expedition for the Pretender's Service ; and that five more had been contracted for, and were design'd to follow. And accordingly, at the Time of their passing the *Sound*, so very particular a Joy was express'd at

at *Stockholm*, by a certain Party there, that it could not but be remarked by the Friends of *Great-Britain* at that Place. And in their Passage, when they lay in the North of *Scotland*, and afterwards were driven by Stress of Weather into *Ireland*; his Majesty's Officers belonging to the Customs, who, according to their Duty went on Board, found all the Symptoms of Enmity to his Majesty; all possible Tokens of a warlike Design; and all the Fears of a Discovery that could shew themselves. And after these Ships were safe in *Spain*, it was given out by one of the Greatest Men in the Court of *Russia*, and written by another Great Man, from his Mouth, to *Stockholm*, in order to influence the *Swedes*, "That the Alliance of *Britain* and *France* would be of the less Moment; since the Imperial Court, and the Pretender's Measures in *Spain* would now find those two Powers full Employment." And it was likewise after the safe Arrival of these *Russian* Ships at *St. Madero*, and during their Stay there, that the Motions and Projects of the Pretender's Friends grew more and more vigorous in *Spain*. Not only the late Duke of *Ormond* admitted to frequent Audiences at this Juncture, but one *Connock*, the Pretender's constant Minister at *Madrid*, hardly ever out of *Ripperda's* House; and one *Pomphilly*, lately come from *England*, offering Money to all the Broken Officers He could meet with at *Madrid*; (as several of them freely affirm'd, and particularly a *Swiss Protestant*, one of those to whom the Offer was made) and this professedly upon a Design then on Foot in Favour of the Pretender.

From the Mention of these particular Preparations, I pass on to shew what Use was intended to be made of the whole. So early as in *February 1725-6*, twelve thousand Men (as has been said above) were designed to be sent to the Coasts of *Galicia* and *Biscay*, the first Project of the Court of *Madrid* being to make an Attempt on his Majesty's Dominions from those Parts. But as such a Body of Troops could not at that Juncture march thither, without giving an Alarm; the Pretence for it, made Use of by the Court of *Spain*, was, that they had certain Intelligence of a Resolution taken by the Court of *Great-Britain* to land a Number of Troops in that Part of the

Country; who were to burn and destroy all before them, and even the Shipping in all the Harbours. Under the Cover of this pretended Intelligence, which no one in *England* could possibly give, and which no one at *Madrid* could really believe, the March of these Forces was ordered. But his Majesty's Minister at *Madrid* representing to the Duke of *Ripperda* (who was then Prime Minister, and in the highest Degree of Trust and Confidence with the King his Master,) that such Intelligence could have no Foundation, and even that such a Design from *England* was impossible; *Ripperda* promised the March of those Troops should be forborn, till a Declaration from the *British* Court, to the Purpose of what Mr. *Stanhope* had said, could be obtained. But the true Reason of delaying this March, was, that some of the Pretender's Friends had represented to the Court of *Spain*, that the sending 12000 Men to *Galicia* and *Biscay*, without any Colour of Necessity for them, in a Country where there never used to be above two or three Battalions, would give such an Alarm to *England* as would inevitably put us upon our Guard; and therefore it would be more eligible to order that Body of Troops to *Navarre* on a very natural Pretext of securing that Frontier against *France*; but when there, they would be so near *Guipuscoa*, that they might be ready to embark, on very short Notice, in Transports to be provided at a Port of that Province; and be convoyed from thence by a Number of Men of War, of which those three *Muscovite* Ships were to be Part. They proposed at the same Time, that some few Ships should be sent with Arms from *Cadiz* directly to *Scotland*; and a Body of 6000 Men kept ready by the Emperor at *Ostend*.

But the Court of *Spain*, being soon after perfectly informed, that such vigorous Resolutions were taken, and such Preparations and Dispositions made, by *Great-Britain*, that it was in vain for them to hope for any Success at that Time from such an Attempt; they suspended for the present the putting this Design into Execution; the rather, finding themselves obliged to send Part of their Ships from *Cadiz* and *St. Andero* to the *West-Indies*. And the *Muscovite* Ships returned home.

Thus

Thus in Fact stood the Case, in Favour of the Pretender, at the Court of Madrid, before the Vigorous Measures of Great Britain alter'd it. And, who that considers the whole of this, will be moved by any the strongest Verbal Assertions of that Court, against such Facts; when it is remember'd, That this whole Scene of the New Alliance, which is acknowledged to be framed against our Trade, and our Right to Gibraltar, was begun and carried on to Perfection, under the Colour of the Highest Regards to his Majesty; and accompanied all along with the strongest and most pathetick Assurances of Friendship;

Especially, if we add here, what ought to alarm the British Court, and was sufficient itself to justify All their Earliest Precautions and Preparations; viz. That soon after the publishing the Vienna Treaties of Peace and Commerce, They had positive Intelligence; and Intelligence from more than one Person; and such as could be entirely depended on; That one express Article of this Alliance between the Emperor and Spain contain'd an Obligation in Favour of the Pretender; and a Stipulation to make the Attempt for Him in England, before opening the War in any other Parts. And by as undoubted Intelligence it was added, That the Pretender, in Return, had since obliged himself to restore Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the Crown of Spain; to be Guarantee of the Emperor's Ostend Trade; and lay open the Commerce, in our Plantations abroad, to Their Ships, with the same Privileges as the English themselves enjoy. And for this Article, enter'd into by the Emperor with the King of Spain, for the Service of the Pretender, there is as certain Evidence, as of the Being of a secret Treaty: Of which I cannot think it possible to doubt, since what has been, and will be, said upon the Articles of Gibraltar, and the Ostend Trade.

This brings our Thoughts to the Court of Vienna: For This Article touches the Imperial Court, equally with That of Spain; and proves the Pretender's Cause, to be the Concern of the former, as truly as of the latter; and to be made so by an express Stipulation in a Treaty. And this alone is Evidence enough of the worst Disposition

towards a *King*, and a *Nation*, which have not deserved such a Return from *Vienna*. For, *This* single Point being certain; it will be of *small* Importance, to alledge the Conduct of this Court in not giving such publick Tokens of *this* Disposition, in *Fact*; as the *Other* has done. Which will only shew a Cautious Prudence in the *Execution*, but not at all any *Innocence* or *Ignorance*, of such *Designs*. The *Article* alone demonstrates the *Design*. And that is sufficient.

But indeed, if, *after* this, we consider the most publick Parts of the late Conduct of the *Imperial* Court towards this Nation, we cannot conclude less than this, That there is little Desire or Thought *there*, of keeping any Terms with us, in any Respect. I mean, that Part of Conduct, which regards our *Trade*, not only by Consequence, but directly and immediately. At *Ostend*, and in the *Netherlands*, the present and future *Fatal* Effects of the *New* Establishment are too visible; at the same *Ostend*, which was conquered and preserved by our *Arms* and those of the *Dutch*. In *Sicily*, rescued from the *Spaniard* by our *Fleet*, as well as secured to the *Emperor*, by the good Offices of our *King* in the Treaty of *London*. In the same *Sicily*, the Kindness was soon returned by a *Prohibition* of all our *Woollen Manufactures*; and this *Prohibition* not yet removed, but only *suspended* for a while, upon the strongest *Representations* and the plainest Evidence, that this Proceeding was against the *Faith* of *Treaties*, which made the *British* Privileges there, exactly the same, as in all other *Dominions* of *Spain*, to which it once belonged: Those same *Treaties*, under which the *Duke* of *Savoy*, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, took Possession of this *Kingdom* of *Sicily*, and under which the present *Emperor* took it after him. And lately, in the *Austrian* *Dominions* in *Germany*, preserved from Ruin by the *Arms* and Money of Us and our Allies, most Species of our *Manufactures* are prohibited. So that in every Inch of Ground his *Imperial* Majesty is possessed of, even in those Countries gained by our Assistance, and where He is as closely bound by particular *Treaties* as the most solemn and repeated Engagements can bind him; In all, He has acted the same Part towards us, in one of our tenderest Concerns. And if the *Imperial* Court be resolved to go on

in these Matters; this alone must determine them to espouse the Protestant Interest. As they are fully assured of his present Majesty's firm Resolution never tamely to give up the Rights and Privileges of this Nation, in so essential a Point as that of Trade.

But I have done: And I am sure, have said enough upon this first Point, to put it beyond all Doubt, that this *Alliance at Vienna* contains in it, and will certainly bring after it, if not vigorously opposed, the most unspeakable Evil to *Great-Britain*, by engaging, and attempting, to subvert our present happy Establishment.

II. I will now say a Word or two, about the Possessions of *Great-Britain* within the *Spanish* Dominions; and how they must be affected by this new *Alliance*. These are *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*; won by our Arms in lawful War, ascertained to us as our Property by all the Parties concerned in that War; and secured to us by all the Solemnity of Alliances, and Treaties, and particularly by this present King of *Spain* himself, in two express Articles of the *Treaty of Peace* signed at *Utrecht*, 1713. For, of the great Importance, especially of One of them (I mean *Gibraltar*) I would not be thought to speak as any the least Motive to a just and brave People to value and preserve it, were not the Possession of it founded upon the strictest Right and the most undeniable Maxims of Political and National Justice. But when that Importance to which *Spain* gives Testimony by the Eagerness discovered to wrest it out of our Hands, is added to the Right of Possession: No one amongst us, who is a true Lover of his Country, can be easy under the Prospect of an *Alliance*, which opened itself to *Great-Britain*, with the civil Complement from *Spain* of demanding *Gibraltar* immediately, as the Condition of the Continuance of a Friendship, which cannot be violated without the Breach of all Faith and Trust in Treaties; and with the Emperor's Obligation, to use His kind Help to bring *Britain* to a Compliance with that Demand. I have already spoke of this Demand, and this Obligation, as certain Evidences of a secret Offensive Alliance between the Emperor and *Spain*. I now speak of this mutual Engagement between these two Powers, for the Recovery of *Gibraltar*; as one of the unjust and pernicious Conditions

Conditions of their new Alliance. And, after I have before so plainly proved, That this *Engagement* makes one main Part of it: not only from *Ripperda's* repeated Affirmation both at *Vienna* and at *Madrid*; but from the peremptory Language used at *Madrid*, after this Alliance at *Vienna*; and from the Testimony from *Vienna* added to This, that there was an *Express Article* containing the Emperor's Stipulation upon this Head; and this Testimony given at *London*, by Order of the Imperial Court, in a very remarkable Manner. After the Proof of this Fact, I need say no more than that, if the Designs of this Alliance be not vigorously opposed and effectually broke, the first unwelcome Evil to *Great Britain* must be, to see a Place of the utmost Importance to us, if we will trust the Confession both of *Friends* and *Enemies*, wrested from us by *Force* (if it be possible) unless we will basely yield it up to the Importunity of those who ask it; and a Place, which is our Honour, and our Strength abroad; a great *Defence* and *Advantage* to our extended *Navigation*; and a *Convenience* to our Ships of all Sorts, not to be equalled by any other Place, that can be offered by that *Crown*, which would deprive us of it.

III. But indeed this Place could it be preserved to us by all our Strength and Prudence, would be of no Importance to us hereafter; if the other Schemes of this new Alliance stand good. It will be a small Comfort to *Great Britain*, and little better than a *Ridicule*, to have in Possession so great a Convenience to *Shipping* and *Trade*, as *Gibraltar* is, if we are to be stripped of that *Trade*, itself; and to be reduced to the Condition of having little or no Occasion for any *Shipping* at all. And yet, This I think must be the Case with us, if the Project of this new Union are suffered quietly to succeed. For our *Trade* it self, that Ornament and Support of *Great Britain*, most by Degrees be so affected, in almost every Branch of it, that it cannot but naturally lessen, Flag, and Dye just in Proportion as this new Alliance gains Strength and flourishes. There can be little Hope, if this Conjunction proceeds much farther, of obtaining any Redress for the many Injuries in Commerce, already received; or of preventing many more, from the Side of *Spain*; and much less, if possible

possible, of keeping the Design at *Ostend* from having Effects, which, taken with all their extended ill consequences towards almost all the Branches of our *Trade*, are enough to awaken all *Britons*, who have been used to esteem their *Commerce*, as their darling Good: — a Good to the support and increase of which, all their *Treaties* and *Alliances* have for many Years past solely tended, and in Comparison of which they have despised, and left to Others the Acquisition of *Tracts* of Land, and *Territories* to enlarge Dominion of Power. Hitherto, we have always shewed our selves sensible that *Trade* was our proper Life, and the Encouragement of this, upon an honourable Bottom, the proper Nourishment of that Life. Every Instance of Conduct in any in Power at Home, which has but seem'd to shake it a little, or to touch it, at a Distance, in an unkindly Manner, has been found to be so resented, as to disunite the greatest Friends: and at once to unite those of different Views amongst us, in a vigorous Opposition to it. And every Step, in order to defend and promote it, has been received with universal Applause; and reconciled and enlarg'd the Affections of Men to such Benefactors. And with regard to *Foreign Nations*; every hurt any of them do to our *Commerce*; every Breach into the Fences and Privileges with which that is guarded and enrich'd; every Shadow of a Tendency this Way, has always been view'd here, as the highest of all Injuries to this Nation, and the natural Subject for the genuine and just Resentment of every true *Briton*. And if we are not dead to all this Sense; if we still retain the proper Life and Vigour of *Britons*; that is, of a Nation adorn'd and supported by the most extended Commerce that can be boasted of by any People. What can we think of an Alliance between two powerful Princes, form'd against the plain Stipulations of *Treaties*, in order to deprive us of our Glory, our Riches, our Strength, which depend all upon our *Trade*; and afterwards, to defend and preserve themselves in their Acquisitions of our Rights?

These are not Words without a Meaning; nor Fears merely of Imagination set on Work by present Resentment: But real, Substantial, and undeniable. For, if the Union

Union of these two Powers proceeds upon the present Foot; and be not thoroughly broken in its terrible Parts; let any one say, what hope can remain of any Bounds to be set to the Injuries our Trade has felt, and must feel? Will those *Depredations and Hostilities*, committed in the *West-Indies* by the *Spaniards*, under Pretence of their Right to guard against *Clandestine Trade*; These Violences, by which the whole Commerce of *Jamaica* has been well nigh destroyed, and the Trade of that Island reduced to a miserable Condition, be now redress'd? Or will the Remonstrances of these Grievances, which have had no Effect before the Treaties of *Vienna*; now, after such *Treaties* are made, meet with any better Reception at *Madrid*; and procure us a more favourable Answer? Will any Complaints, or Representations, in support of the acknowledged Rights of the *South-Sea-Company*, obtain now so much as the Hearing at the Court of *Spain*; when the Strength of such an *Alliance* is added to the former Disinclination towards any Redress; and is suffered by the other Powers of *Europe* to exert itself? Or, will They, who have been hitherto unmoved by Right and Justice, at length voluntarily listen to their Voices? Or, will the Court of *Vienna*, which has stood out, before this Alliance, against all Solicitations, relinquish the *Preventions* at *Offend*, and act agreeably to former *Treaties* in the Affair of Commerce; now after the Riches of *Spain* are to come in, to the Aid of former Resolutions?

So far from this, That it is an express Article, stipulated in this *New Alliance*, that, as the Emperor is to assist *Spain* in the regaining of *Gibraltar*; so is *Spain* obliged to support the Emperor in his *Offend Company*, and his Commerce.

This Article, relating to the *Offend Company*, as part of a *secret Offensive Alliance*, (as I have before shewn) was more than once not only acknowledg'd, but boasted of, to the *British* and *Dutch* Ministers at *Madrid*, by *Ripperda*, when he was prime Minister in *Spain*. But we have not only this Evidence. For, as in the Affair of *Gibraltar*, the Emperor himself, by producing an Article of a Treaty, gave Testimony to his having enter'd into Engagements relating to that Place; so, his *Catholic Majesty* has

has not scrupled to give his own Testimony, that, by this *New Alliance*, He has entered into Engagements to support the *Emperor* in his Establishment of the *Offend Company*; not only by the Language of his Court at *Madrid*; but by what he wrote himself; and ordered his *Minister* at the *Hague*, to denounce, by way of Threatning, to the *States General*, upon this Subject: Of which I have given an Account before. And besides all this, it is enough to look upon the *Publick Treaty* of Commerce sign'd at *Vienne*, *May* 1st, 1725. to be satisfied, that such Privileges in *Commerce* are granted, by *Spain*, to the *Emperor's* Subjects, as are contrary to many former *Treaties*, and to the most manifest *Rights* of other *Nations* founded upon these *Treaties*.

I shall not enter minutely into all the Particulars which are of *Importance*, upon this Head: The *Subject* has been so plainly stated, and even exhausted, before the *World* already, that there can be no need of any Thing farther, than to refer those, who have not yet look'd into the Depth of this *Affair*, to the several *Memoirs* of the *States General*, and of those Commission'd by Them, upon this Occasion; particularly those which were printed here, in the *Daily Courants* of Dec. 16. 1725: Jan. 19. 25. Feb. 3. B. 131 and 14. 1725-6: in which all the Pretences of their Enemies are compleatly and plainly answered; and the *Matter* placed in the most evident Light. I will only just state the *Dates* and *Intent* of the *Treaties*, relating to the *Commerce* most immediately affected by the new *Offend Company*; and add a Word or two about the farther Consequences of it.

So long ago as the Year 1609, the *King* of *Spain*, by the Truce then made with the *United Provinces*, granted them their first Privileges of *Trade* in the *East-Indies*; by which the *Dutch East-India Company* has been from that time in Possession of their *Commerce* in those Parts. But these Privileges wanted *Confirmation*: And this they fully obtain'd from the Crown of *Spain*, after long and mature deliberation, at the *Treaty* of *Munster* in the Year 1648, by which, the Crown of *Spain* not only granted the *Hollanders* these Privileges; but engag'd itself, to maintain and protect them, in the Enjoyment of these Privileges. In

this *Treaty* the Bounds were set to the several Pretensions of the *Dutch* and *Castillans* in the *East-Indies*; and the *Limits* of their distinct *Navigation* and *Commerce* there, exactly fix'd: And not only all other Subjects of *Spain* were totally excluded from the *East-Indies*; but the *Castillans* themselves were for ever excluded from all *Commerce* and *Navigation* within the *Limits* of the *Hollanders*; as *These* were likewise prohibited from entring into those of the *Castillans*.

And, before this, the absolute *exclusion* of all the Inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, from all Trade or *Commerce* in the *East* or *West-Indies*, was in the Year 1598. made an express *Article* in the Act of *Cession* of the *Low Countries* by Philip II. King of *Spain*, upon the Marriage of his Daughter *Isabella* to the *Arch-Duke Albert*: The *Eighth Article* of which *Cession* is this, That "The *Arch-Duke* and *Arch-Dutcheß* themselves, and their Successors, shall not exercise any *Navigation*, and *Commerce* in the *East* and *West-Indies*, under the Penalty of being deprived of those *Provinces*; and if any of their Subjects shall act contrary to this, they shall be punished with Rigour, in some Cases even with Death itself &c." Neither was this at that time at all complain'd of by the States of those *Low-Countries*, even when several other *Conditions* of the Reception of those new *Governours* were remonstrated against, as so many *Grievances* upon the People of those *Provinces*. Neither was there afterward any *Protest* made by any Persons concerning, against this *Exclusion*, whilst the King of *Spain* was concluding the *Treaty* of *Munster* with the *United Provinces*. This shews that the present Complaint of the *Hardship* of such *Exclusion* is new and artificial; and comes many Years too late, as it comes after *Solemn Treaties* made, and renewed, in express Confirmation of this *Exclusion*.

To proceed; after the *Treaty* of *Munster*, an Accident happened, which plainly shewed how the *Fifth Article* of that *Treaty*, was understood, not only by the *Dutch*, but by *Spain* also. One *Bastien Brower*, a Subject of *Spain*, either of *Brabant*, or of *Flanders*, had obtained a *Permission* from the King of *Spain*, to go to the *Coasts* of *China*, where he carried on a very profitable Trade. When this

this came to the Knowledge of the *High-Council* in *India*, belonging to the *Dutch-East-India Company*, they made a solemn *Resolution* immediately, and sent it as an *Order* to the *Commanders* of all their *Ships*, and to all their *Subjects*, to take this *Man Prisoner*; and if he defended himself, to use *Force* against him. This had its *Effect*. The *Man* never appeared any more to give them farther *Trouble*. Other *Subjects* of *Spain* desisted from all such *Voyages*. The *Crown* of *Spain* never complained of this *Conduct*; and by this *Silence* plainly gave *Testimony* to the *Justice* of that *Resolution*, as founded upon the *Treaty of Munster*.

In the Year 1667, by a *Treaty* between *Britain* and *Spain*, all *Privileges* of *Commerce* and *Navigation* in both the *Indies*, were granted to His *Britannick Majesty's* *Subjects*, in a full and ample *Manner* as they were granted to the *Hollanders* in the *Treaty of Munster*. And in the Year 1713, a *Treaty of Commerce* was concluded at *Utrecht* between the *Queen of Great-Britain*, and this present *King of Spain*: By the *First Article* of which it is declared, That, the *Treaty of Peace, Commerce, and Alliance* concluded at *Madrid*, in 1667, is *ratified and confirmed* by this *Treaty*; and it is added, That, for the greater *Strengthening and Confirmation* of the same, it has been thought proper to insert it *Word for Word* in this *Place*. Then follows that former *Treaty* thus *ratified and confirmed*.

In the Year 1724, but one Year before this *New Alliance* at *Vienna*, this same *King of Spain* was so sensible of his *Obligations*, lying upon him from the *Treaty of Munster* alone, that he presented, by his *Ambassador* at *London*, a *Memorial* against the *Emperor's* Attempts upon *Trade* from *Ostend*; in which he insisted that the *Affair* of the *Ostend Company* should be brought before the *Congress* at *Cambray*, in order to have the said *Company* abolished, before he could in *Conscience* think of confirming the *Cession* of the *Netherlands* to the *Emperor*: And urges, That, if this *Confirmation* should be made by *Spain*, without reserving expressly to itself the *exclusive Right* on the *Navigation* to the *Indies*, in general, and without *Exception*; the *States-General* would be rightly entitled to demand *Satisfaction* of

Spain; for *having thereby made a great Infraction of the Treaty of Munster, and would be disengaged from the reciprocal Obligation to abstain from the Navigation of the Spanish Indies.* That is, in other Words, that if he, the King of Spain should not support the Dutch (and consequently the English also) against the Emperor's new Establishment at *Ostend*; that then, I say, he himself should be justly charged with a most dishonourable Breach of Faith, and Violation of solemn Treaties. Thus stand the Engagements of Spain, with regard to the English and Dutch, in the Affair of their Trade to the Indies, and of the Emperor's new Attempts at *Ostend*. Let us now consider the Obligations and Engagements of the Emperor himself.

The Grand Alliance 1701, between the Emperor Leopold, King William, and the States-General, is built upon this very Foundation of the English and Dutch Trade to the Indies, as upon a main Ground of that Alliance. It opens itself with reciting, that, upon the Death of Charles II. King of Spain. without Issue, the Emperor claimed the Right of Succession to his Countries, as belonging to the Austrian Family; and, after other Particulars, it follows, *so that without some Remedy applied, the Emperor will lose his Pretensions; the Empire lose its Fiefs in Italy; and the English and United Provinces be deprived of the free Use of their Navigation and Commerce in the Indies, and other Places, &c.*

Hence it appears, 1. That the Emperor's Family claiming by Hereditary Right these Provinces, could not rightfully claim any Powers, but what were vested and remained in Charles II. the King of Spain, to whom they were to succeed; nor possess them, but upon the Conditions, upon which the deceased King himself had possessed them: And that the Emperor neither could, nor did, claim any Thing that his Predecessors, Kings of Spain, had parted with by solemn Treaties; and therefore neither could, nor did, claim those Countries, but upon the same Terms and Conditions of Trade, on which King Charles II. of Spain had enjoyed them, agreeably to solemn Treaties with other Powers. 2. That the Preservation of the Trade in the Indies, to the English and Dutch, upon the Foot they enjoyed it, and in the Manner it was carried on, to the Death

Death of King *Charles II.* of *Spain*, was one Ground, and a main one, of the *Grand Alliance*; and that the Emperor's Pretensions to the *Low-Countries* were supported by the *English* and *Dutch*, upon this, amongst other Conditions, that the Emperor should reciprocally support their Trade to the *Indies*, on the Foot they had constantly enjoyed it. 3. It having been already proved, that *Holland* ever since the Treaty of *Munster* in 1648, and *England* ever since the Treaty of *Madrid* in 1667, have carried on their Trade to the *East-Indies*, to the Exclusion of the Subjects of the *Netherlands*, by Virtue of those Treaties; it follows, That, in Consequence of this, and by Virtue of this *grand Alliance* it self (by which the Emperor's Claim to these Countries is allowed, and the Claim of the *Allies* to their Commerce also insisted on) the Emperor did in Effect oblige himself and his Family, when ever in Possession of these Countries, to take upon themselves all the Obligations which the Kings of *Spain*, to whom they succeeded, were under, to *England* and *Holland*, by former Treaties; and to support this main End of the *grand Alliance*, relating to the Commerce of the Allies, (expressly mentioned in it,) as well as their own Pretensions: And, instead of invading them themselves, to defend them against all Invaders, according to the Obligations of those former Treaties. Nay, it was likewise expressly stipulated in this *grand Alliance*, supposing it to end successfully; That the *Spanish Netherlands* should be (not the Property of the Emperor absolutely, and without any Conditions; but a Barrier to the *United Provinces*. So that we see, the Emperor, in the *grand Alliance* itself, considered his own Right to the *Netherlands*, with a View to the Trade of his Allies; and that the *Spanish Low-Countries* were established in that Alliance, as a Defence and Guard to those Allies, whose Trade is now going to be ruined from them.

But these Obligations are not only the real Intent and Consequence of the *grand Alliance*: But it is declared in express Words, in the Barrier Treaty concluded at *Antwerp*, in 1715, between his present *Britannick Majesty*, this present Emperor, and the *States-General*, Art. 1. That the Emperor (this present Emperor) should enjoy the *Spanish*

with Netherlands, as they were enjoyed, or ought to have been enjoyed, by the late King Charles II. conformably to the Treaty of Ryſwick. That is, with the same Privileges, and the same Obligations, neither greater nor less.

After all these solemn Stipulations and Treaties here recited, is it conceivable, what has now been done in the Face of the World?---That Emperor, who was under all his Father's Obligations: Who could not succeed, even by his Title of Hereditary Right, to these Low-Countries, but under the same Engagements with those Kings of Spain; to whom he succeeds: Who himself, in his own Person, has declared, in a solemn Treaty, that He enjoys these Countries no otherwise, than as they were enjoyed by the late King of Spain; that is, under the same Restrictions and Obligations to which that King was engaged: That same Emperor, instead of protecting the Commerce of the English and Dutch from the Invasions of others, himself openly invades it; instead of punishing any of his Subjects in the Netherlands for Attempts of Trade to the East-Indies, or restraining them, as he is strictly obliged to do, He has himself erected a Company, and endowed it with great Privileges, on Purpose to Trade thither, and, instead of yielding to the just Remonstrances of his injured Neighbours, he has set them at Defiance, and strengthened himself with a new Accession of the Power and Riches of Spain, to back this unjustifiable Seizure of those Rights of Commerce, which are the established and particular Privileges of other Countries. Such has been the Conduct of the Emperor.

And the Part which Spain has acted, with Regard to Ostend, and the Spanish Netherlands, is if possible, still more extraordinary; and more out of the common Road of dealing with Treaties and Alliances. For thus it is, --- That King of Spain, who enjoys his Kingdom under the Stipulations of the Treaties made by his Predecessors: --- who has confirmed them all himself, in his own Person: --- He, who in one Year declared it would be a Breach of His Treaties, for Him ever to acquiesce in the Establishment of the Ostend East-India Company: That same King, the next Year, does much more than this. He undertakes by this new Alliance, to support the Emperor in this

this very Establishment. Not only this: but he grants to these very *Offenders*, and all other Subjects of the *Emperor* in the *Spanish Netherlands*, what he had no Right to grant to them, had they remained his own Subjects; nay, he grants them *Privileges* of his *Ports* and *Places* in the *Indies*, greater than are allowed to the *English* and *Hollanders* themselves: And this, not only with Respect to the *East-Indies*, but the *West-Indies* also. For by the 2d and 3d Articles of the *Vienna Treaty of Commerce*, a Liberty is granted to them, to frequent, and Trade in, the *Ports* of the *Spanish West-Indies*: Or, supposing this not directly granted, in express Words, yet they are at least permitted to enter into those *Ports* for victualling or repairing their *Ships*: which will come to the same Thing. For if they may enter into, and remain in those *Ports*, till they have provided themselves with all *Necessaries*, the *Nature* of the *Bullion Trade* is of that Sort, that no *Precaution* can prevent that *Commerce*.

I am sensible it may be objected here, that the Liberty granted to the *Emperor's* Subjects, by the *Treaty of Vienna*, to enter into the *Ports* of *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, in case of *Distress* of *Weather*, or of refreshing themselves, &c. is no more than what was formerly granted to His Majesty's Subjects by the *Treaty of Madrid*, concluded in 1670. But it is well known, that the Liberty granted by that *Treaty*, has ceased for many *Years*; and that, in order to prevent the *Abuses* that might be committed from such a *Permission*, and that one *Nation* might not be more favoured than another on any *Pretext* whatsoever in the *Trade* to the *West-Indies*, sufficient Care was taken of that *Matter* in the 8th Article of the *Treaty of Utrecht*, by which it is expressly *Stipulated*, and declared in the following Words: *Whereas among other Conditions of the general Peace, it is by common Consent established, as a chief and fundamental Rule, that the Exercise of Navigation and Commerce to the Spanish West Indies, should remain in the same State it was in the Time of King Charles II. of Spain, and that therefore this Rule may hereafter be observed with inviolable Faith, and in a Manner never to be broken, and thereby all Causes of Distrust and Suspicion concerning that Matter may be prevented and removed; it is especially agreed*

greed and concluded, that no Licence, or any Permission at all, shall at any Time be given to the French, or any other Nation whatever, in any Name, or under any Pretence, directly, or indirectly, to Sail, Traffick, &c. to the Dominions subject to the Crown of Spain in America; except what may be agreed by the Treaty, or Treaties of Commerce, (there referred to) and the Rights and Privileges granted in a certain Convention called, *El Asiento de Negros*. And the same Condition is likewise stipulated in the 34th Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, between the King of Spain and the States. And there needs no other Argument to prove, that it was always understood by the Court of Spain itself, in the Sense of not suffering any Ship to enter into any Port of Spain in the *West-Indies*, on any Pretext whatever, but to observe, That the *English* and *Dutch* are never permitted, though under the greatest Distress of Weather, or Want of Provisions, to put into any of those Ports; but their Ships if they come in, are constantly confiscated: And upon this very Account, that, if once Entrance were permitted, the Traffick could not but follow. Yet, notwithstanding that this is a fundamental Rule of the Treaties of *Utrecht*, and an Article of the general Peace, which is strictly observed with Regard to all other Nations; it is notoriously violated, in Favour and Preference of the Emperor's Subjects.

It is further to be observed, That with Regard to the Articles of Commerce betwixt Spain, England, and Holland, the Liberty to the *English* and *Dutch* of entring into the Spanish Ports, was always expressly restrained to the Ports of Europe. But no such Restriction is once mentioned in the late Treaty of *Vienna*, with Regard to the Emperor's Subjects, Nay, all the Privileges allowed to Britain, are in express Words allowed to these; without so much as an Exception to the *South-Sea Ship*, and the *Asiento Contract*: Whereas in the Treaty of *Utrecht* with the *Dutch*, that Exception was expressly made. Thus has the King of Spain granted all our Privileges, and greater, to the Subjects of the Emperor; and, instead of protecting Great-Britain, and the United Provinces, in their Rights of Commerce, according to the former Treaties, he has now declared himself to be obliged and determined to Protect

fact, by Force, the *Emperor* and his *Subjects*, in their *Invasion* of those *Rights*. And, from all this put together, it must be as Evident, as *Words* and *Facts* compared can make any Thing, that the *two Courts* of *Vienna* and *Madrid* have founded their *new Alliance*, as far as it respects *Trade*, on the *Destruction* of all publick *Faith*, the *Infraktion* of *Treaties*, and the *Violation* of all that can hold together *Nations* in *Peace*, and mutual *Benevolence*.

After so plain a Proof of the great *Injustice* of the Attempt of the *Imperial Court* upon *Trade*, from the *Spanish Netherlands*; and of the *King of Spain's* determin'd Encouragement of it: It would not be improper here to consider at some length the *Importance* and *Consequence* of this Conduct to *our selves*; were it not that This has been set in so strong a Light already, as to make it much less necessary; and particularly, in a *short Treatise*, Intitl'd; *The Importance of the Ostend Company considered*. Yet, before I pass from this Subject, I must mention some few particular *Consequences* of this new Establishment at *Ostend*, and of the *new Treaty of Commerce* (by which so large Privileges are granted to the Subjects of the *Netherlands*) with regard to our *Trade*; and in the end to our *Liberties*, and our *Religion*, themselves.

The *United Provinces*, it is plain from their whole Conduct, esteem themselves undone in their main Concern, if this *Company* be supported. And if *They* are undone in *their Trade*; it is well known to all, who are acquainted with the *Track of Merchandise*, that the *Gain* of their *Loss* in *Trade* will not accrue to *England*, but fly to those Countries where this Evil began. As to the *East-India Trade* particularly; the same *Rival*, which ruins *That* in *Holland*, must by the same *Methods* inevitably ruin it in *England*. Nay, it must ruin it sooner and more effectually here: Not only because *Holland* has the sole Property of the *Spice Trade*, besides other Advantages; but because the *Dutch Merchandizers* are free from the Burthen of *Customs*; whilst our *Customs* give the greatest Encouragement to the *Ostenders* to run, and put off, a Multitude of their Goods in *England*. The *Damage* and *Ruin* must be the same, as to our *West-India Trade*, from the *Privileges* granted, by the *Vienna Treaty of Commerce* to the *Empe-*

ror's Subjects: The *Privilege* of *entring* into the *Spanish* Ports in the *West-Indies*, and, by unavoidable Consequence; of trading there, where neither *English* or *Dutch* are ever permitted to enter upon any *Pretence*; and the *comprehensive Privilege* of enjoying all Rights which *Britain* enjoys, without any *Exception*; and, by Consequence, of interfering with, and hurting, not only our *Assiento Contract*, but every *Instance* of *Commerce* with *Spain*, which we have a Right to by repeated *Treaties*.

Nor can the Evil stop here, but must of Necessity insinuate it self into many other of the most important Branches of our *Trade*, which have a mutual and indissoluble Connexion one with another. The convenient Situation of the *Spanish Netherlands* between the *North* and the *South* of *Europe*, for all the Purposes of an extended Trade.---The Advantage of the Ports of *Ostend* and *Newport*, which, though none of the best, yet may vye with those of *Holland*; and will be as convenient Harbours for *Privateers*, as ever *Dunkirk* itself was, when the Time shall come for an avowed and forcible Interruption to *Our Trade* and that of *Holland*: The Goodness of their *Rivers* for communicating all *Merchandizes*, at the most easy Rates, from *Town* to *Town*; and the later Addition of several large *Canals* and *Causeways*, where the *Rivers* are wanting:---The Fruitfulness of the Country, and the easy Price of all Provisions, very advantageous to all *Manufacturers*:---The *Liberties* and *Privileges* of the *Towns*, which still subsist; very inviting to the same *Manufacturers*.---The *Genius* of the *People*, very well fitted for all the *Improvements* of *Trade* and *Manufactures*:---And, to animate them, the Experience and History of past Times, which will shew them, that they have formerly, with a little Encouragement from their *Governours*, flourished in *Manufactures* both *Woollen* and *Linnen* (besides those many which they still retain;) the *Woollen* now again reviving to a Degree of Goodness at *Limburgh*, so as already to under-sell the *Dutch* themselves; and the *Linnen* more easily revived by the Advantage of the great Quantity of *Flax* growing in these Countries:---And this Experience of former Days pointing out to them likewise the Possibility and Probability of their carrying their *Navigation* to a great Pitch, in the *Number* and *Strength* of

of their *Shipping*, increasing by Degrees, as it always does, in Proportion to *Manufactures* and *Fisheries*; and the faster, as these Countries lie nearer and more convenient for enticing *Fishermen* and *Sailors*, as well as *Manufacturers* themselves, from hence, upon all Occasions; and also for the clandestine *Importation* of *Wooll* from *England* and *Ireland*, to carry on their Designs. These, and many more Particulars shew, that, as one Branch of *Trade* leads to another, and one Trial encourages another; and as all *Commerce* is of a spreading and communicative Nature, where it meets with proper *Materials*, and proper *Encouragement*; so this must probably be the Case, if the *Beginnings* of *Evil* be not looked after: That not only our own *East* and *West-India* Trade, and that of the *Dutch*, will be ruined by the *Ostend* Company, which will be the immediate *Effect* of it; (or rather is so already in a great Degree;) but also, that the *Contagion* will spread to many other *Branches* of the *British* and *Dutch* Trade; and convey along with it the *Riches*, the *Strength*, and the *Naval* Power, to the same *Spanish Netherlands*.

But were it so, that *Holland* alone would be the Sufferer by the *Ostend* Trade (which is far from being the Case;) yet the Ruin of *Holland* must carry along with it, in the end, the Ruin, of *Britain*. For, as these two Nations remaining United, are indeed the *Turn* of the Ballance of *Europe*, whenever they join themselves to any other great Power of *Europe*; and *Both* of them together, but barely sufficient for this Purpose: Whatever Ruins the *Trade*, that is, the *Riches* and *Strength* of *these*, destroys at the same time the Evenness of that Ballance, which alone can keep *Europe* in any tolerable Order. And whatever Ruins any *One* of these *Powers*, does as truly destroy the sufficiency of that *Strength*, by which alone that *Balance* is preserved. And what then must be the Consequence? *Where* the *Trade* and *Riches* of *these*, or of either of *these*, settle, *there* settles the *Power* with them; and that *Power* removed from *them*, must be the *Destruction* of the *Balance*; and the *Destruction* of that *Balance*; must be the *loss* of the *Liberties* of the *rest* of *Europe*, and particularly, as Occasion shall offer, of the *Liberties* of *Great-Britain*.

And I need not add, that the same *Popish Power* which

will gain all this *Strength*, (for it is in a *Ropish Power*, that all this must Centre,) will have the same *Strength*, and a greater *Will*, to extirpate every Appearance of *Protestantism*, of what Denomination soever, out of *Europe*; without Exception to any one Church above another: only with the fatal *Exception* of a more sure and quick Blow to *that Church*, a great Part of whose Revenues, as well as the Riches of a Multitude of its *Members*, arise from the *Dissolution* of *Monasteries*, and the *Alienation* of *Abby-Lands*, and whose unpardonable *Crime* it will be, to have been the great Support of the *Reformation*, and the *Bulwark* of the *Protestant Cause* against *Popery*. For where can that *Church*, or where can the *Protestant Religion*, hope, I will not say, for *Countenance*, but for *Sufferance*; when the whole *Protestant Power* in *Europe*, which, in its present Condition, is little better than a Creature with Pain and Difficulty struggling for Life, shall be broken to Pieces by Acquisitions, made by other Powers, of Riches and Force: Acquisitions, which will be a double Strength against it, as they are taken from those who alone have a Will to protect it, and added to those who have a Zeal to hurt and oppress it. And that *this* must be the *End* of such *Beginnings*, suffered to proceed with Success, and gathering Strength every Step they go, is as plain, and as true, as, That proper Food will give Strength gradually to the *weakest Man*, capable of receiving it; too great to be resisted at least by the *strongest Man*, who suffers it to be taken from himself; and who by that Loss of *Nourishment* grows *weaker* and *weaker*, as well as by the Strength added by it to the *other*.

I will now say a Word more peculiarly relating to *Great-Britain*; and the Concern this Nation has, in its present Circumstances, in the *Fate* of its *Trade*, or of any of the Branches of it. The two last *Wars* abroad, upon which not only our own Safety, but that of the *Liberties* of all *Europe*, depended, and by which they were preserved; together with the continual Attempts of our Enemies, since the general Peace, to load us with the Chains of *Popery* and the *Pretender*, have run *Great-Britain* into a vast *Expence*: And this *Expence* has left behind it an immense *Debt*; and this *Debt*, so justly due
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to the *Creditors* of the *Publick*, must be paid, both out of strict Duty, if there be any such Thing as *publick Justice*, and out of *Interest*, if we have a Mind ever again, in any *Extremity*, to be trusted. This lies as a great and heavy Burthen upon the Minds of all true Lovers of their Country: And, I know, that for the sake of this single Point, and from their earnest Desire of seeing so great a Good accomplished, without any Interruptions, many of the best Friends to the *Publick* are ready to regret any Opposition made to the Designs of this *New Alliance*, as the first step to a *War*; and to ask, How much better, to bear the Inconveniencies mentioned; to submit to the Loss of *Gibraltar*; to be contented with all the Consequences of the *Ostend-Trade*; to connive at all the Designs of such Powers united; then to put any stop to our Prospect of a gradual Payment of our Debts? -- Our main Business, they argue, is to free our selves from that Load. The *sinking Fund* is a good Beginning; and if not hindred by Quarrels with Powers abroad, must go on to diminish our Debt. This Payment of our Debt, we should look after, as our Strength in future Times, and our greatest Force against our *Enemies*; and not shew our selves so concerned about the Points just now mentioned.

On the other Side, I cannot help entirely differing from all this. Nay, I cannot forbear to urge this very *Opposition* to the *New Alliance*, as the only certain Method of taking any one Step farther towards this great Good; and so absolutely necessary, that *without it*, there is an End of all Hope of it. And I contend for the most *vigorous Opposition* to the Designs of this *New Alliance*, for this very Reason, because we are in Debt; and must be for ever in Debt; and shall never probably have it in our Power to pay any *Part* more of that *Debt*; if those Designs go on unopposed and unresisted.

For in the first Place, they who argue against it, from this Consideration, leave out a *main Point*; and a Point which comprehends all other Evils in it; and that is, the *continued Attempts* of putting the *Prebender* upon us: Which must succeed, unless we shew our selves determined to oppose any *Power*, engaged in Support of such Designs. And if this *one Thing* succeeds; it is of small Importance

portance to our *Debt*, what our Trade will be after this is effected. Every one can see that a Debt, contracted in Order to keep out *Him* and his *Family* for ever, will never be paid, but by *one Universal Blot* spread over the Face of the whole Accompt; if *he* should ever be settled here, against whom this *Debt* has raised Armies, and manned Fleets, and fought many successful Battles. What Good therefore, towards the Payment of our Debt will a supine Negligence do? or what Account can the *Creditors* of the *Publick* hope to find, from not opposing an Alliance which may otherwise too probably end in the establishing a *King* here under whom the least Evil will be this, That the *Creditors* of the *Publick* will be sure of losing at once their whole just *Debt*, and the *Interest* of it?

But, putting the *Pretender* wholly out of the *Question*, as a Person not in Being; Or, supposing our selves secure from every future Attempt in his Favour: yet, the *Case* wth Respect to the Payment of the *Debt*, must very soon be the same; (however it may happily differ in many other Particulars) if the Conditions of these *New Treaties* at *Vienna*, both *Publick* and *Private*, are, through our supine Negligence, suffer'd to be fulfilled. For, what is the *sinking Fund* from which we hope for Relief? It is the *Surplus* of the *Produce* of the *Customs* and *Excises*, after the Payment of the *Civil List*, and of the *Interest* of the *National Debt*. These *Customs* are the *Appurtenances* to *Trade* and *Commerce*. Take away any Part of this *Trade*, or diminish it in any Branch; just so much in Proportion you diminish or take away from these *Customs*. The first Thing therefore, that must feel the *Diminution* of our *Trade*, is the *Produce* of our *Customs*; and the first Thing that must feel the *Diminution* of our *Customs*, is the *Sinking Fund*: because the *Civil List* and the *Interest* of the *National Debt* must first be paid, before any *Surplus* at all can be laid apart for the Payment of the *Principal*. Let therefore your *Trade* decay; permit the *New Company* at *Ostend*, to make your own *East* and *West-India* Trade utterly impracticable; and suffer your own *Commerce* to be by Degrees transplanted, and to flourish, in the *Netherlands*, under the Advantages and Encouragements in those Parts just now mentioned; besides the *Prohibitions* upon your own

own *Manufactures* every Day increasing upon you: and this alone will immediately prevent any such *Surplusage* from remaining. For what Need of Words? As *Customs* are the *Appendages* of *Trade*, they must decay with it: As the *Sinking Fund* depends entirely on the Abundance of *Customs*, this must first vanish upon their Decrease. What then must immediately become of the *principal Debt*; And indeed, very soon after this, what must become even of the *Interest* of it; when the *Customs*, which are the *Fund* for the yearly Payment of that *Interest*, are themselves vanish'd away? And I will add, never after *this* to be recalled again.

For here is the real Difference between the *two Methods* of proceeding, now under our Consideration. *First*, As to that of vigorous Opposition to the Measures of the *New Alliance*; if we should allow to Those who thus argue against it, that it may possibly bring on, in its natural Course an *Interruption* to *Trade*, and a *Diminution* of *Customs*; and consequently a Stop to that Payment of the *National Debt* which depends upon the Abundance of these *Customs*: Yet, this is but a *Temporary Stop*. If these vigorous Measures meet with Success, and the Blessing of Providence attend upon them, the Course of *Trade* opens itself again with Vigour; and, the *Customs* reviving in Proportion, the *Sinking Fund* must of Necessity do so too. And if this Method of *Vigorous Opposition* should not be successful; the Case could not be worse than it must be without it. For in the other *Method*; That of supine Negligence, and of yielding to all Demands without the Attempt of any Relief; our Conduct has but *one certain Event* possible, as to the Point now before us. The *Sinking Fund* must, with the Decrease of the *Customs*, vanish immediately: and so must, soon after it, the Annual Interest of our Debt. And then, the longer the *Ostend* Company continues its Commerce, the stronger and more extended must it grow; and the more extended that is, the more confined must our *East* and *West-India* Commerce be, in all their Branches, till they dwindle into nothing; and the more the *Sweets* of *Trade* are tasted in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the *Austrian* Countries too, the more improbable or rather impossible it will be, ever to recall

it into these Parts, upon any such *Terms* as can make the *Customs*, once ruined, revive in *England*. In a Word, in *one* Way, the Diminution of the National *Debt* may be interrupted by a vigorous *Opposition* to the Measures abroad: but then will revive again, and go in its proper Channel. In the *other* Way, the same *Diminution*, and Loss of the Means of paying the *Debt*, and even the *Interest* of it, will be the Fate of this Nation: and that, with this *unhappy* Aggravation; that, if the Loss comes *this* Way, it is never to be retriv'd; nor any Hope left of that Payment for the future.

As others therefore are moved by a Regard to this great Good to the Nation, to be averse to all Methods of *vigorous* *Opposition*; I cannot help being moved by the same Regard, the very contrary Way: and what They *fear*, because we have such a *Debt* upon us, which ought to be paid; that I *wish*, for the same Reason, because we are in Debt; and that Debt ought to be paid; and that Debt cannot be paid without such an *Opposition* as may preserve our Commerce upon a *Foundation* granted to us by the most solemn *Treaties*, the only *Purchase* of the *Toil* and *Expence* of *Britain*; and such a *Foundation*, as alone can enable us to go on in a gradual Justice to the *Creditors* of the Publick.

And in such a Method of proceeding, This ought to be our great Support and Confidence, that it is not an arbitrary Contention against the Rights of any other Nation in the World; nor a Contest for our Trade, merely as our great Advantage, or as the Instrument of paying the National *Debt*, and securing the National Happiness; but really and truly a Contention for our strict Right and Due, invaded with an High Hand by other Powers, against the *Faith* of *Treaties*, as well as the Force of the highest Obligations. Nor can we conceive a more abject Servility of Conduct, than for a *People* so long fam'd for *Commerce* and *Bravery*, to see their *Darling* Good, and their peculiar Glory; the Pledge of their *Liberty*, and Life of all their Property, just going to be forcibly and unrighteously torn from them; and tamely to look on without *one* *Struggle* for so great a Blessing, or one hearty Effort against the *Invaders* of it. What can we become
if

if we give our Consent to such Ruin by our own supine Indolence and Insensibility; and suffer our selves to be stripp'd of our boasted Strength and Ornament at once; but a Nation, the most despicable of all Nations under Heaven; exposed to the Contempt and Insults of the World about us here *below*, and render'd utterly unworthy, by our own Conduct, of the Care of Providence *above* us?

IV. After all this said upon the Consequences of this *New Alliance*, with a particular Respect to the *Protestant Establishment*, the *Possessions*, and the *Commerce of Great-Britain*; it will be very proper now to touch upon another *Article of the Secret Part of it*, in which, not only *Britain*, but all *Europe* in general, is extremely concern'd: I mean the *Marriages* agreed upon, between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; which, added to the *comprehensive and extended Trade* now likely to be transplanted into the *Netherlands*, must constitute a Power in *one Family* beyond all that we have known, Formidable and Irresistible. The *Marriages* I speak of, are those of the two *Arch Dutcheses*, *Daughters* to the present *Emperor*, with the two *Infants of Spain*, *Sons* to the *King* by his present *Queen*. And that these are agreed upon, as a main and essential Point in this *New Alliance*, We have the following Proofs.

I. Immediately after the Signing the *Publick Treaty of Peace at Vienna*, *Ripperda* very freely talk'd of the *Marriage of Don Carlos*, the *eldest Son* of the present *Queen of Spain*, with the *eldest Arch-Dutcheß*, as a fixt Matter; and that the *Prince of Asturias* was disregarded in this *Alliance*, because of his ill Health, as he pretended at that Time: and a little while after, he spake as openly and positively about the *Marriages*, both of *Don Carlos* and his *Brother*. One of his Conversations was very remarkable, and full of such *Circumstances* as will not let Us doubt of the *Truth* of the Subject of it. *The King's Ministers in Spain*, and the *whole Spanish Nation*, (says He) are bitter against me: but I laugh at all that. *The Queen will protect me. I have done her such Services that she can't abandon me: For thus the Matter stands. The Proposals of the Imperial Court were of a Marriage with the Prince of Asturias, and my first Instructions from Spain were for the Prince of Asturias; but it was I, who got that*

H. *Destination*

Destination changed. I wrote to the Queen to engage the Prince of Asturias, without Delay to a Daughter of Portugal, that he might not stand in the way of Don Carlos: And it was I that found the way of turning all this Affair to the Advantage of her two Sons. And do you think I have much to fear after such Services?

2. This agrees exactly with the Language of the Court of *Madrid*: Where, after the *Treaty of Peace* was known to be Sign'd at *Vienna*, this Alliance with the *Emperor* was freely spoke of, as the *Queen's* own *Transaction* entirely; enter'd into, and conducted by *herself*; and the *Marriage of Don Carlos* spoke of, at first, without Reserve or Appearance of Secrecy, as a Matter agreed upon. Nor did any one Person, who frequented the Court of *Spain*, make the least Doubt of it.

3. This will help us to Account for other Parts of the Conduct of *Spain*: which, without this, will be wholly unaccountable, and out of the Road of all Policy. For Instance, Suppose only these *Marriages*, or That alone of *Don Carlos* with the *eldest Arch-Dutchess*; and this will shew us, Why that Court could be brought to discard the *Neutral Garrisons*, and all other *Securities* furnish'd by the *Quadruple Alliance* for the *Establishing* her Son, that same *Don Carlos*, in *Italy*; and to trust to the *Emperor's* naked Word in so great a Point: *viz.* Because by this *Marriage* it would come about, that the *Emperor*, by securing those *Dominions* in *Italy* for *Don Carlos*, would secure them, at the same Time, for the *Issue* of his own *Daughter*; and so must of Necessity, for the Sake of his own Interest, and the aggrandizing his own Family, be sincere and zealous in this Affair. On the other Side, the same Supposition of this *Marriage* gives a reasonable Solution, Why the Court of *Spain* has consented to, what the *Spanish Ministers* at the *Congress* would not hear of, the *Guaranty* of the *Succession* in *Germany*, as lately establish'd in the House of *Austria*: *viz.* Because it comes about by this *Marriage*, that being *Guarantee* to the *Emperor's Succession* in his *Austrian Dominions*, is no more than being *Guarantee* for the *Queen's* own Son *Don Carlos*, the future Husband of the *eldest Arch-Dutchess*; and that *Self-Interest* must make *Spain*, under its present Administration, sincere in this *Guaranty*. And upon any other Bottom, we may safely defy

defy the World to give a Solution of *these*, and several other Appearances, in this New Alliance.

I need not go farther, and appeal to any Words that may have been dropp'd in Confidence, at the Court of *Vienna* itself, upon the Subject of these Marriages; and that, with a particular Pleasure and Satisfaction express'd in them: Since we have so much, and so strong, Evidence of the Reality of it, from the Mouth of *Ripperda*, who made the Treaty; and from the Language of the Court of *Spain* itself; as well as from the utter Inconsistency and Unaccountableness of the Proceedings of that Court without this Supposition.

I acknowledge indeed, That at *Vienna*, when it began to appear that what had been said upon this Head had alarm'd *Europe*; and when, in particular, the great Aim was to keep the *Dutch* from acceding to the Treaty of *Hanover*; which might be hasten'd by so terrible an Appearance: Then the whole Affair of these Marriages was utterly disown'd; nay, in Order to deny these Marriages, it was absolutely denied that there was any such Thing in Being as a *secret Treaty* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*. I am not afraid of relating *this*, after all the Proofs before given of the Reality of a *secret Treaty*, and of this Article in it; nor at all unwilling that it should work as much as it can, and have all the Weight it ought to have. For I am confident, that, as this Conduct convinced no one Person at *Vienna*; and made not the least Impression upon the *Dutch Minister*, or his *Masters*; so it will make no Impression upon any who have read what I have before laid down, unless it be *this*, That they who can act an unjustifiable Part, can, without Scruple, and with the same Ease, bring themselves to a peremptory and absolute Denial of it, 'till the proper Time comes for their open Avowal of it.

But as this Article of these Marriages must remain undoubted; we cannot help spending a few Thoughts upon the Consequences of them, or of the First of them only. There is but one Life, that of the Prince of *Asturias*, between *Don Carlos* and the Crown of *Spain*, after the Death of the present King. There is only the same Life between *Don Carlos* and the Crown of *France*; should

the present King there dye without *Issue Male*; and the late *Renunciations* not take Place: both which Events may happen.

And as to the vast Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria*, *Don Carlos* will come to them by Right of his Wife. And as Experience has shewn us, for many Ages, that whoever is Master of these Dominions, and the Power that attends them, has been and must be *Emperor*, notwithstanding its being an Elective Crown: *Don Carlos*, by marrying the eldest *Arch Dutcheß*, cannot fail of being *Emperor*. So that *Don Carlos* may possibly be at once, *Emperor*, King of *France*, the King of *Spain*: and have the vast Strength and Riches of all these Powers united and center'd in him.

I have thus sufficiently shewn the many and complicated *Evils* of this *New Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and the just *Apprehensions*, and well-grounded *Fears*, which the Court of *Great-Britain* could not but entertain from all Appearances and all Advices, about the *Nature* and *Tendency* of it, with regard to the present *Establishment* of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; to our *Possessions*; our *Commerce*; our *Religion*; our *Liberties*, and those of all *Europe*; and, in a Word, to every *Thing* that ought to be Dear to Us. And now, Let any Persons amongst us, who know how to prize these *inestimable Goods*, which alone make *Life* itself valuable, survey this *New Alliance* in every Part of it: and judge, ' Whether ever hitherto ' *any one Scheme* has appear'd in *Europe*, of a Destruction ' so universal, and of a Ruin so extended, as *This* (taking ' the whole together) appears plainly to be. "

It is time now for us to enquire, What has been the Conduct of the Court of *Great-Britain*, upon the View of all these *Evils*.

1. The first step they took was to renew, by a Treaty, the Defensive Engagements subsisting between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Prussia*. But this Treaty was not set on foot till some Months after the *New Alliance* between the *Emperor* and *Spain*; and after the best Intelligences, and most mature Consideration, of the *Tendency* of that *Alliance*. And as this *Treaty*, made at *Hanover*, has long been publick in the World; I need not observe that it is
a Treaty

a *Treaty* entirely *Defensive* between *Britain, France and Prussia*, for the mutual support of each other, against Injuries; and not at all for the invading, or injuring, any Nation under Heaven.

2. Particular Regard was shewn to the *States General*, in the framing of the *Treaty of Hanover*: To which they have since acceded. The next care was to invite the Crown of *Sweden* into this Alliance; that Kingdom having so often and so successfully appeared in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and of the Liberties of Europe. And the Landgrave of *Hesse-Castle*, whose Family has done such signal Service to the Protestant Cause, readily offer'd a good Body of Troops, in support of this Alliance.

These are the Steps which the Court of *Great-Britain* thought fit to take as soon as possible, after the Danger we were in, appeared evident beyond all contradiction.

3. As the Parliament of *Great-Britain* found their Country immediately threatn'd in its greatest Concerns from these *Treaties of Vienna*; Both Houses gave his Majesty all Assurance of support in whatever He should think fit to do in the present critical Conjunction. And accordingly it was necessary now to consider in earnest, what was most proper to be done. The Court of *Great-Britain* had evident Proof that nothing could influence the Two New Allies to Terms of Reason, but to shew a vigorous Spirit against every pernicious or suspicious part of such an Alliance. And as all Appearances, in all Parts, convinced them, That nothing could so effectually guard against approaching Evils, as the dispatching sufficient Squadrons of Ships to several Places; and as they were sensible that our Fleet, now the best in the World, could never be of any Account, either towards our Glory or our Safety, but upon such an Occasion; They did, with all possible Diligence, fit out Three Squadrons of Men of War: One for the *West-Indies*, One for the Coasts of *Spain*, and One for the *Baltick*.

It will now be ask'd, as it has been indeed already, What beneficial Effect has this Method had? What Good have we gain'd, or what Evil have we prevented, by these Grand Appearances of our Fleets abroad? And if an Answer may be reasonably expected, by Those who ask these and the like

like *Questions* ; so is it also a just Expectation, That, They should be as ready to receive a Reasonable Answer to them, as they are to ask them.

As to the Treaty of *Hanover* ; I will suppose, no *Apolo-*
logy can be expected for *That*, after such a surprizing and
formidable Conjunction of the *Two Powers* of the *Emperor*
 and *Spain* ; the Design, and the *Articles* of which *Con-*
*juncti*on appear'd every Day more and more terrible to their
Neighbours. The Contracting Parties in the *Hanover* Tre-
 aty must have been taxed with *Infatuation* and *Insensibility*,
 beyond the common Pitch of *Those Evils*, if They had
 not enter'd into a *strict* and *heart*y Concert for their own
Self-Defence, in such circumstances, of present Invasion of
 the *Trade* of *some* of them ; and of Forebodings of *future*
 Evil to them All.

But as the Question here at home, chiefly, if not solely,
 refers to our Naval *Armaments* from *England* ; What have
 They produced, or, For what Reasons were They sent ?
 The Answer is very plain. As to the Squadron sent to
 the *West-Indies* ; I believe there is no one who has an Es-
 tate in those Parts, or is concern'd in any Trade thither,
 who did not think it highly necessary to have a Strong
 Squadron in those Seas, for securing our Commerce ;
 which must otherwise have been inevitably ruined, by the
 Depredations and Violences committed by the *Spaniards*
 for several Years past without Redress. And if the send-
 ing of the said Squadron has prevented the Return of the
 Galleons ; no Man who is in the least conversant in the
 Affairs of *Europe*, can make any doubt but that this Inci-
 dent has been the only Thing that has hitherto prevent-
 ed a War in *Europe*, by depriving the Courts of *Vienna*
 and *Madrid* of the means of putting in execution the dan-
 gerous Schemes they had projected.

The Squadron sent to the Coasts of *Spain*, was sent to
 prevent any Attempt from that Country, to disturb Us
 at Home : The Court of *Great-Britain* being assured, be-
 yond all doubt, as I have before particularly related, that
 an *Offensive Treaty* was concluded at *Vienna* ; and that an
 Attempt was design'd from *Spain*, and Preparations mak-
 ing for it, at that Time, in Favour of the Pretender.

And

And the *Squadron* sent to the *Baltick* was sent to prevent very great Evils in those Parts ; there being no room to doubt, that the *Czarina's* real View was to go with a Fleet directly to *Stockholm*, and under a Pretence of demanding the Use of the Ports, and the Assistance of *Sweden* for the Recovery of *Sleswick* to the Duke of *Holstein*, actually to dethrone the present King of *Sweden*, and make that Nation absolutely dependent on *Muscovy*. It was therefore, judg'd of the utmost Importance to prevent this, by sending a strong Squadron into the *Baltick* ; not only as it was the preserving a Friendly Power, and a Power Necessary to the Balance of the North : but particularly, because *Sweden* could not but be consider'd in the Nature of a Frontier and Barrier to *Britain* itself, to such a Degree, that if that Kingdom were once either made subject to *Russia*, or Dependent upon it, *Britain* itself must be in Apprehension of Attempts from the *Russian Ravagers*, coming with their Fleet from *Gottenburg* to our Northern Coasts : An Evil not to be guarded against, after the Subjection of *Sweden*, but by the Expence, either of a constant Fleet upon those Coasts, or an armed Force in those Parts of our Country, which lie most open to such Attempts.

The Designs and Views in sending out these Squadrons, being so unexceptionably Good ; supposing that, through the Dispositions of Providence, and the Opposition of Winds and Weather, Success had not attended upon any One of these Squadrons ; nay, that Great and Extraordinary Misfortunes had followed them all : Yet, They who are not so weak as to argue from Success alone ; they who know the Uncertainty of Seas, and Winds, and Weather, and have too much Understanding to think the Event only to be the true Criterion of judging about the Wisdom of any Project ; all Persons, I mean of good Sense, should, methinks, have been ready, even in such a Case, to have applauded what was done upon so good Grounds, and with Views so much for the Honour and Safety of their Country. But, God be thank'd, this is not the Case. Every one of the Armaments has had Success equal to the Goodness of the Errand, they were all sent upon ; and even, beyond Expectation. For, as to the Squadron in the *West-Indies* ; it has not only protected the

the Trade of His Majesty's Subjects in those Parts from the Depredations of the *Spaniards*, but also the *Galleons* with their Stores of Money, the *Strength* of the *New Alliance*, and the Life of all the *Projects* concerted in it, are kept back : And those *Attempts* disappointed which would have been made, and perhaps succeeded, had such *Riches* come to their Aid. The Execution of the Schemes laid in *Spain* for an Invasion of *Great-Britain*, in Favour of the *Pretender*, was, at that Time, prevented by the Appearance of a *British* Fleet upon the *Spanish* Coasts : And all the Evils and Disorders, as well as Expence, avoided, which an Attack of that Sort must have occasion'd, even supposing it repulsed from hence ; and the utter Ruin and Destruction, that must have ensued, had it succeeded. And by the Squadron in the *Baltick*, the *Czarina's* whole Force of Ships and Gallies was kept in, within the Bounds of Safety to *themselves* and their *Neighbours* ; Her destructive Designs against *Sweden*, with all their ill Consequences to *Britain* and to other Countries of *Europe*, prevented from Execution in every Instance : And, after all the boasted Strength of the *Ships* and *Seamen* in the Service of that *Crown*, *Russia* it self, and all *Europe* convinc'd, that *twenty British* Men of War can, upon any Occasion, make them disappear as if they were not, and shelter themselves in their own Ports, as if they had no Views but those of Quiet and Security.

But here is the great Advantage to *Those* who make such *Enquiries* as these we have been now considering, without a Disposition to be satisfy'd : That *Evils* prevented, go for no *Evils* ; and because they were not visibly perceiv'd by our Eyes, not sensibly felt by our Nerves, before we find them at a greater Distance from us, therefore, they who are in the Disposition of *Satyr* (so much easier than *Praise*) will probably think themselves at *Liberty* to deny this *Freedom* from such *Evils* to be at all the Effect of the Measures taken ; and to persist in it, that no such *Evils* would have come, or could have been justly fear'd, if these Methods had not been taken. And in this Manner I own, they may talk for ever against all possible Light ; if the whole *Scene* which I have in the former Part of these Papers, laid before them, be not of Force enough to work

work another Persuasion in them. Yet, *one* Thing I will affirm, ' That we, and other Nations are at present, actually free from the *Evils* and *Attempts* I have mention'd, *since* these *vigorous Measures* have shew'd themselves in the View of *Europe*; and that they themselves cannot say it was certain, (as others will not say, it was in the least *probable*) that we should have been free from those *Evils* and those *Attempts*, had *not* these *Measures* been taken."

Thus therefore, stands the Affair of these *three Squadrons*. They were sent upon Designs of the last Consequence, and exceedingly Honourable, to *Great-Britain*: And they have had the Success of fully answering the Ends propos'd.

It was not, we see, to assert the *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*; merely by shewing themselves in several Parts of the World in *Form* superior to that of other Nations, that these *Armaments* were fitted out. The asserting our *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, as a Point of mere *Speculation*, at a great Expence, and without any other View, may, perhaps, be a Subject fit for Men of Wit to be pleasant with, and to entertain themselves and their Friends upon. But to assert the *Sovereignty* of the *Seas*, as a Point of *Action*, upon a just Occasion: — To shew this *Sovereignty* in the Sight of those Nations, who are making their own Strength at *Sea*, the Instrument of Ruin to their Neighbours: — To shew it, in Opposition to those *Nations* who are contriving to convey Mischief to ourselves, and Assistance to our Enemies, by the Sea it self: — If *this* be not the proper Business, and the peculiar Glory of *Britain*, as the *greatest Maritime Power* now in *Europe*; then our *Navy* is it self a *Ridicule* upon our selves: an Ostentation only, kept up at a vast Expence; and a Piece of *Vanity*, unworthy of a *Great* and *Wise* Nation. But no more upon this Part of the Subject.

Another *Question* will be ask'd, what has been, and must be, our *Expence* upon this Occasion? And it will be added, are we alone to bear such Burthens, without a Proportion of *Expence* from those who are our *Allies*: Whilst *Those* whom we are opposing, seem to be at little or none at all? To the first Branch of this *Question*, *What is our Expence?* It is certainly enough to answer in General, let it be what it will; if it be necessary for our

own Security, and that of *Europe*; if it be incurred for the preventing the greatest *Evils*, and as the *only Means* of procuring a better State of Things: It may justly be said, to be not at all comparable to the Necessity for it; not to be put in the *Ballance* against the *Mischiefs* which might have arisen from the Want of it; and very much beneath the *Good* which has and will come from it. The whole Point to every *true Briton* is, whether it was necessary, fitting, and reasonable: They that think it *certainly* so, and they that think it *probably* so, must be pleased with it. They that think it a mere Piece of *Gaiety* in those who preside; or an hasty Blunder in the Dark; will have other Resentments about it: But they must first *think* them *mere Mad-men*, or *mere Idiots*, before they can come to this. In the mean Time, till something of this Sort appears, we cannot but think, That if the attempting to guard our selves and our Neighbours from very great and comprehensive *Evils*, be laudable; and if the preventing the Beginnings of those *Evils* can make an *Expence* necessary fitting, and reasonable; then the *Expence* upon the present Occasion is certainly so.

But as this in general is Satisfaction enough, of whatever Sort or Degree the *Expence* is; provided it be a *lesser Evil* than what it has hitherto kept off: So it will not be disagreeable to remark, That the *Expence* upon these *Naval Armaments* is of such a Nature, and accompanied with such *Circumstances*, as to make it much the more tolerable in the Eyes of every *Briton*. The *Expence* is chiefly an *Expence* amongst our selves; and such as only circulates Money from one Hand to another. The Victualling so many Ships is the Advantage of our own *Farmers* and *Graziers*. The Rigging out and equipping them, gives Money to our own Builders and Workmen. The putting them into Motion when they are so repair'd, is known to be of Service to the Ships themselves: Which otherwise lie still, and often receive such Damage, as at the End it costs more to rectify. The employing so many Seamen is still employing *our own* Subjects; and giving our Money to our own Country-Men: Besides the great future Benefit arising from this Necessity it self; as they are kept in Action by it, and inured to the Service of their *Country*,
and

and the more fit to defend it upon all Occasions to come. So that the *Expence* of our Naval Defence, which is the true and natural Defence of Britain; tho' it, indeed, must be a *Burthen* to those who pay towards it, as all *Payments* are: Yet it is a *Burthen* with this Advantage to the *Publick*, that it sends not our *Money* abroad; it loses it not to the *Nation*; it removes it indeed out of one Pocket into another, but it is still our Money, and remains among our selves. The *Community* and *Body* of *Subjects* taken together are not the *Poorer* for it; tho' the *Persons* paying it to others, are so: And if it be for their own necessary Defence, and for the Safety of all the Rest of their Possessions, all honest Men among them will be glad, they are so.

But then our *Expence*, tho' great, is not alone. The Dispositions made by *France*, ever since the Signing of the Treaty of *Hanover*, have more than kept Pace with us, in the Largeness of the *Expence*. The first Step taken by the most *Christian King* was, to augment his regular Troops with *Twenty five Thousand Men*; and this, in such a Manner, that they were presently ready for Action upon any Occasion. At the same Time he order'd a Levy of the *Militia*, to the Number of *Sixty Thousand Men*: and appointed these to be commanded by the *Ancient Officers* reform'd of his old Troops; not to mention *Twelve Thousand Invalids*, put into good Order, and double Officer'd, for the Defence of such of his *Citadels* and *Forts* as they are proper for. These, and other Dispositions, which have been made to put *France* into a Condition to support a War, if it should be necessary, amounted, for this last Year, by a certain Calculation, to fifteen hundred and sixty thousand Pounds Sterling; and if the *Militia* should be obliged to march out of their Provinces to the Frontier, it will amount to a far greater Sum. And by this Method it comes to pass, That these sixty thousand *Militia*, and twelve thousand *Invalids*, remaining in *Garrisons* and fortified Places, as the Service shall require; That *King* can send into the Field, without Inconvenience, 165000 Men of his *Regular Troops*. Such has been for some Time the *Disposition* there, in Order to shew the *New Allies*, that *France* is not only in earnest, but in a well disposed Condition of disputing any Attempts against itself, or its *Allies*.

The *United Provinces* indeed, came but lately into the *Alliance*, from the Frame of their *Constitution*, naturally begetting *Delays* and prolonging their *Debates*; and not from any Want of the Sense of their *Dangers*, and the *Necessity* of their acceding to the *Treaty of Hanover*. For from the Time of their *Accession* to that *Treaty*, they have shewn a Warmth and Vigour worthy of the Occasion. They have agreed unanimously upon such Augmentations of their Land-Forces, as by next Spring will make them above 50000 effective Men: And the necessary Measures are taking for their having a Fleet at Sea of Twenty Men of War. Besides which *Expence*, relating to these *Augmentations*, They have been at a very great Charge in providing their Magazines, and putting their *Barrier* and *Frontier* Places into a good Posture of *Defence*. But whoever reads the late *Resolutions* and *Representations* of the *States General*; and sees with how deep a Concern, and in how pathetical a Manner, they speak of the *Calamities* now threatening themselves, and the rest of *Europe*; declaring their Ruin must lye at their own Door, if all the *Provinces* do not, in a Case of such *Necessity*, consent to act the Part of Men in a vigorous Defence of themselves, and readily concur in ‘*what*, in the Opinion of their *High Mightinesses*, is *indispensably necessary* to the common Safety and Preservation; and without which the *well-being*, *Liberty* and *Religion* of the *whole Republick*, will be put to the Venture’. Whoever reads this, and much more said and inculcated by Them, with a particular Vehemence, will not think, that they are not determin’d to defend themselves by all necessary Measures against the *Dangers* now hanging over their Heads.

At the same Time, those *Powers*, which have raised this *Alarm*, and occasioned this *defensive Expence* to their *Neighbours*, cannot stir one Step in their own *offensive Designs*, without a very considerable one to themselves. His *Imperial Majesty*, besides the many Promises of another Sort, which He has bestow’d around Him, has entered into *real Obligations* which cannot be performed but at a very great Expence. To the *Electo*r of *Cologne* he has engaged to pay 600,000 *German Florins* a Year, for two Years; to the *Electo*r of *Bavaria*, the same; to the *Electo*r *Palatin* and of *Treves* the same; and to the Duke
of

of *Wolfenbottle* 200,000 Florins ; besides what is stipulated to others. Add to these his own great *Expences*, in recruiting and in refitting his whole Army, and preparing every thing of all Sorts, necessary for *Action*: An *Expence* in the whole so great ! that nothing but the vast Advantages It is to receive from his new Alliance, and the Expectation of *Remittances* from *Spain*, could have induced him to think of it. And what then must the *Expence* of *Spain* be ; which has not only its own Army to put in Order and augment ; not only its own Towns and Coasts to guard ; but the *Emperor's* Demands to answer ? And what a *State* of things must the Necessities, of *Spain* it self, together with the *Demands* of the *Emperor*, bring that *King* and his *Country* into ; even if his *Flota* with it's usual *Cargo* of *Money* should come Home safe : when it is well known, that, before these new *Expences*, (the Effect of the *New Alliance*) all the *Civil* and *Military* Officers belonging to that *Crown*, and their whole Army, were in great *Arrears* ; and all the *Royal* Revenues anticipated for a Year and a Half ; and that the whole *Nation* was in a State of very great Poverty and Distress ? And if such immense *Expences* can be run into with Zeal, for the Injury and Oppression of other Countries : surely, an *Expence*, much smaller in itself ; and directed solely to the Defence and Preservation of ourselves in the Rights and Properties we are justly in Possession of, cannot be thought unworthy of the *British Nation* ; nor unjustifiable in Those who have already begun it, only because they thought it absolutely necessary. But still other *Questions* arise upon this Subject.

It may be ask'd, Could not the Court of *Great-Britain* all this while have tryed other *Methods*, than alarming *Europe* with *Fleets* ? The Methods of a friendly *Congress*, or Proposals of a more peaceable and amicable Nature ? Was there no Way of proceeding, but demanding of the *Emperor*, the sole Propriety of *Trade* ; and engrossing it to *Britain* and *Holland* : as if other *Nations* had no Right to the *World*, besides our selves ? In which Way of talking there is something very right, and something very wrong. For certainly it must be granted, that we ought to prepare ourselves with Vigour to oppose *Injury* ; as well

well as to be ready to propose, or receive, any reasonable Methods of Accommodation. To do the *First*, without a Disposition shewn to the *Latter*, I acknowledge, would have been unjustifiable. To do the *Latter* without the *First*, had been Weakness and Folly: And could have proceeded from nothing but a total Ignorance of the plainest Rules of political Conduct; which have long ago established it as a certain Maxim, that the best Way to Peace upon such Occasions, is with the Sword prepared for the Day of Necessity; and that those Powers, who can suffer themselves to invade or demand the Rights of others, will laugh at all Accommodations offered, when they see them unaccompanied with such Appearances as shew the Resolution of those others to defend their Rights by Force, if Reason cannot prevail.

I answer therefore, to these and the like Questions. 1. It never could have been justified, in the Court of Great-Britain, to have made Proposals of Accommodation, without the most vigorous Measures taken, which alone could make them effectual. 2. In some of the Pretences and Demands of this new Alliance, no Equivalent, no Accommodation, could be proposed. In the Case of the Demand of Gibraltar; whilst the Nation seems universally to concur, that no Sum of Money, nor any other Place of Strength abroad, can be any Equivalent to it: what could be proposed, but a Resolution to defend the Nation in its just Possession of it; especially, since the whole present Conduct of Spain may assure us, by a fresh Evidence that it is of the utmost Importance; and that if that Place were once gone out of our Hands, we should have still less Hope of seeing Treaties observ'd, or of hindering ourselves from being more and more injured, on that side, in our Commerce. 3. In the other great Case, that of the Emperor's new Establishment at *Ostend*, the Court of Great-Britain never went upon such an arbitrary Maxim as, That other Nations ought not to be permitted to begin and extend their Commerce wherever they might justly could, as well as ourselves; or that we had any Right to oppose such Attempts: But upon these undoubted Maxims of Truth and Right.— That Treaties are to be observed;— That, when any Country is excluded by Treaties from any particular Branch of Commerce, it is not to be authorized and supported in carrying on the said Branches of Commerce in violation of the said Treaties; and— That those Powers which have, by repeated Engagements, obliged themselves to defend and support the British and Dutch Trade, are justly to be opposed when they themselves come to be the Invaders and Destroyers of it. Agreeably to all this, 4. As the Court of Great-Britain has taken such vigorous Measures as shew the Resolution of Self-defence: So, has it never been wanting either to propose, or to receive, any reasonable Method for the Accommodation of this Matter, to the Emperor's Satisfaction; if He could be satisfied with any thing, but a Trade in open Contradiction to all Treaties.

In particular, It was sufficiently intimated to the Court of Vienna, that the British Court pretended to nothing in this Affair; but to defend the Right of Trade belonging to Britain by Treaty; far from assuming to themselves any Right of controlling the

Emperor

Emperor, or his Subjects, in any Attempts, not contrary to those Treaties: That therefore, if the Emperor would remove this Company, and the Seat of Trade, now at *Ostend*, to *Trieste*, or any other Place in his Dominions, which did not heretofore belong to the Spanish Monarchy; Britain was ready quietly to acquiesce. And the same was offer'd to the Court of *Madrid*, in the form of a Proposal, when his Catholic Majesty had just begun to espouse the Emperor's Interest, in this Affair of *Ostend*.

But tho' the Court of Spain not only acknowledged the Reasonableness of the Proposal; but made great Professions of Hope that it would be accepted: Yet, at the same Time, it was declared, That Spain was under Engagements to stand by the Emperor, even supposing his unreasonable Refusal of it. And at *Vienna*, the Intimation made no Impression at all: The Resolution there, by this appearing plainly to be, The Support of the *Ostend Company*, and Trade from the *Netherlands*, against all Stipulations.

But however this ended at *Vienna* and *Madrid*; It must have this Effect at *London*, to convince all Persons, that, as no one, either real or pretended, Provocation from Britain, gave the first Occasion for this new Alliance; (one End of which was the Establishment of the Emperor's new and unwarrantable Designs in Trade :) So, the Court of Great-Britain, in the midst of all Preparations for the Defence of this Nation's Rights, has not neglected to try other Methods of a peaceable and amicable Nature; but shew'd a readiness to do any thing, even for present Peace, except to give up the Advantages, Rights and Privileges of Britain, of more Importance than present Peace: And these Advantages founded upon Treaties; which therefore, They who preside are obliged to guard and defend, as a sacred Depositum, not only out of Love to their Country common to Them with all others, but out of peculiar Duty and Obligation; as they are intrusted with this Guardianship and Defence, by the Publick; and as an Account of this Trust may justly be demanded of them.

If then, nothing reasonable, in the Way of Accommodation, has been wanting on their Part; They will not easily be blamed; (it is to be hoped rather, they will be highly commended) for This, that They have not permitted themselves to be misled by any smooth Words without Meaning; or to be hindered from taking all necessary Precautions, by any Amusements of Congresses, or Embassies, or Negotiations, only thrown in their Way to gain Time to others, and to lose it to themselves: Since it is evident, that irreparable and irretrievable Evils might have come from the not taking these necessary and timely Precautions. And were it so, that They had spent their whole Time in sending and receiving fruitless Messages backwards and forwards, in such a critical Conjunction; we may venture to say, we know the Persons who would have been the first to charge, (and very deservedly too) the Ruin of this Nation upon them; and to have demanded Justice against them for such a Conduct, in such a Time of Danger to their Country.

And indeed, supposing this to have been the Case; supposing the Court of Great-Britain, in such a Situation; with such re-

peated Advices from all Parts; with such Demonstrations of Danger from abroad, as put out of all Doubt the true Nature and Designs of so formidable an Alliance as that of the *Emperor and Spain*: I say, supposing this Court, surrounded with all these Evances, to have entered into no Measures of Defence with any neighbouring States and Princes; to have taken no Steps towards preventing the Mischief threaten'd; to have sent out no Naval Armaments, either to preserve any friendly Powers, or to quash any Attempts of others; Who would not rise up, and demand an Account of such a Conduct from Those who alone are to Answer for it? Who would not join in saying, Is this the Usage fit to be given to a brave and considering People? Is this the watchfulness of Those, whose Duty it is to attend to every distant View of Danger? Or, do They think so meanly of us and the whole Nation, that we can see nothing but what we feel; and that we have a Sense of no Evil, but what is present? Or, that we are so made, that a little Expence would affright us from preserving our all; or, reduced to so low a Condition of Poverty, that we can't purchase or furnish out even self-defence to our selves? Were not other Princes and States threatned by the same Danger; and ready to unite with us? Must our Fleet, the Glory (as it is call'd) of this Land, lie still and decay, rather than be made our Bulwark? Our Fleet, falsely call'd our Glory, but indeed our Shame, whilst it is laid aside as useless, at a Time when That alone might make us look too formidable in Europe, to be insulted or affronted? Or, does even this Expence which circulates chiefly amongst ourselves, appear too formidable to a Nation which those around it envy, as the Cause of Riches and Plenty? But why do we speak of Expence? It is this Method of Indolence and Inactivity upon such an Occasion, which must bring after it an Expense much greater in itself; and much more hazardous in its Effect; as Time shall add Strength to the Danger threaten'd: An Expense, which must increase our Debt, and at the same Time diminish the Hope of paying it. What Account can we give of such a Treatment of this Nation? As we can find none in all the known Measures of Political Prudence; we must search for it somewhere else.— There must be secret Reasons for such a Conduct; and perhaps these may lie in the Riches of Spain, suffered to come safely home, to strengthen and consolidate the most dangerous Conjunction that ever yet appeared in Europe.— This and much more might justly be urged, upon the Supposition of a negligent and unactive Conduct in this Crisis of Danger. And what Reply to make to it, I profess I think it utterly impossible to tell.

But this is not the Case. The Court of Great-Britain has acted quite another Part; and enter'd into that Method of vigorous Self-defence, by which alone, in all human Wisdom, there can be the least Hope of preventing or repulsing any dangerous Attempts against all our highest Concerns: And a Method, to which No other Principle could possibly have directed Those who have chosen it, but That of an honest Regard to the Possessions, the Trade, the Rights, the Well-Being, and the Being itself, of this now happy and envied Nation.